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COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN A CONSERVATION SOCIETY

University — Université

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

Degree for which thesis was presented — Grade pour lequel cette thèse fut présentée

MASTER OF ARTS

Year this degree conferred — Année d'obtention de ce grade

1983

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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN A CONSERVER SOCIETY

by

MICHAEL PETER MERSERÉAU

A THESIS

Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in
partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

DIVISION OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Edmonton, Alberta



Fall 1983



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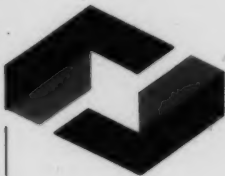
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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is to study the phenomenon of a paradigm shift, to understand its nature and significance for the community development process. The notion of a paradigm shift is found in the study of cultural transformation and in current discussions surrounding the transition to an ecologically and socially sustainable post-industrial society. Western culture has been dominated by what is seen to be an industrial world-view or industrial paradigm. This industrial paradigm has shaped peoples' definitions of development and progress. This thesis identifies the characteristics of the industrial paradigm and illustrates how it has shaped development efforts in Canada.

The community development process is defined in this thesis as a problem-solving process involving learning and political action. The process involves members of a community challenging the established paradigm. In so doing they are then able to formulate their own paradigm which helps explain their current situation as well as what they desire for the future.

This thesis is based upon studies which suggest the industrial nations are at a point in their cultural evolution when large scale paradigm shift is taking place. The industrial paradigm is losing the widespread adherence it has had in the past and it cannot adequately guide the resolution of problems. Elements of a new paradigm are surfacing which challenge the industrial paradigm.

The Conserver Society concept, introduced by the Science Council of Canada, draws attention to some of the characteristics of the new paradigm. The Conserver Society concept is one vision of an ecologically and socially sustainable future. The concept is studied from its introduction to the present in order to arrive at an understanding of the emerging paradigm.

This thesis includes an illustrative case study. Friends of the Earth Canada, whose objective it is to promote a Conserver Society, is studied. A profile of Friends of the Earth is presented which describes its history, philosophy, membership, and activities.

This thesis concludes that the case of Friends of the Earth reflects the emergence of a new paradigm and that many of the characteristics of the paradigm underlie efforts of that group and discussions of bringing about a Conserver Society. It is suggested that the community development process is more compatible with the new paradigm than with the industrial paradigm. The new paradigm strengthens the role of community groups so the community development process may find greater utility in the transition to a post-industrial society.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to acknowledge Gordon for his unending support during the writing of this thesis. I must credit him for introducing me to this topic and inspiring me to research it for a thesis. The other two members of my committee, Glen and Hayden, both contributed with their questions and suggestions as well as my entire studies at the University of Alberta.

Particular thanks go to Friends of the Earth, Canada for their support and cooperation.

My other friends, Ione Challborn, Jeanette Boman and Olive and Eric Lowden, contributed with support and encouragement. I also wish to acknowledge the support and input of many unnamed others who were in contact with, or aware of, developments in alternatives who assisted by recommending or donating studies for this research.

Finally, I would like to thank my typist, Claudia, who worked hard to assist me in completing my work.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

The Problem

This thesis examines the significance of a paradigm shift to an understanding of the community development process. The idea of a paradigm shift is central to current discussions surrounding the transition from an industrial society characterized by rapid growth and many social, economic, and environmental problems, to a post-industrial society characterized by concerns for social and environmental sustainability. There are many models of a sustainable society. This thesis will focus upon one, the Conserver Society, and the context from which it has emerged. In order to arrive at a greater understanding of the process of a paradigm shift leading to a sustainable society, the thesis will use an illustrative case study, Friends of the Earth, whose objective it is to promote Canada's movement toward a Conserver Society.

Prior to 1973, when the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries began its oil embargo and forced world energy prices to rise, concerns were expressed about the availability of resources needed to sustain economic growth at levels deemed necessary and desirable. The notion of limits was introduced the public consciousness by the Club of Rome (Meadows, Meadows, Randers, and Behrens, 1972). It predicted a future of doom unless actions were taken to curb the excesses associated with economic growth. It called attention to evidence that

the earth, its biosphere, and the human race are under great strain and fast approaching their limits to growth.

While the first Club of Rome report was subject to a great deal of criticism, its results were congruent with the findings of many other scientists studying global ecology. The earlier work of Rachel Carson (1962) had already contributed to a rising awareness of the problems of resource depletion and the need for pollution abatement and opportunities for energy conservation and product recycling. Other significant academic and popular studies, such as those by Mishan (1967), Ehrlich (1971), Georgescu-Roegen (1971), Goldsmith, Allen, Allanby, Davoll, and Lawrence (1972), and Mesarovic and Pestal (1974), confirmed a recognition and acceptance of limits, impending social disruption and major environmental crises unless corrective measures were taken.

In contrast to people who described and predicted crises resulting from high rates of growth, others argued the opposite - that growth should be maximized. The book, The Next Two Hundred Years (Kahn, Brown, and Martel, 1976), exemplified this view which is shared by the mainstream of orthodox economics. For them if some is good, more is better and most is best. They believe in continual abundance and that an infinity of resources is available to us. They trust technology to resolve any crises that will arise. They are eternal optimists and, in times of recession, are forever saying that recovery is just around the corner.

The positions of these two groups are more and more seen to reflect the dominant struggle of the times. It is a struggle between two world-views - two paradigms - each of which offers its adherents ways of understanding the present and visions of development for the future.

It is already apparent that the growth rates thought to be responsible for the major problems of the industrialized world cannot be sustained. The industrialized nations are now experiencing slower rates of economic growth, and with the transition from high rates of growth there has come a need for major social adjustment.

Changes in the rates of economic growth have not been the only disruptions with which people of industrialized nations have had to cope, although economists and politicians have been preoccupied with economic growth. Many traditional assumptions underlying western social thought have been under fire and a deep-rooted sense of malaise has taken over. Such fundamental aspects of society as the role of science and technology, the utility of the scientific method, the meaning of social justice, the reliability of traditional concepts of social order and the role of government are being questioned. Consensus on many of these aspects is becoming more difficult to achieve. This is because the assumptions supporting the dominant paradigm are disintegrating, and a new paradigm emerging.

The word problématique has been used to label the variety of issues and their relatedness being which are addressed by adherents of both paradigms. The Club of Rome referred to the world-problématique and

formulated their discussion of it around the process of growth. Valaskakis, Sindell, Smith, and Fitzpatrick-Martin (1979, pp. 2-3) explained the usefulness of using the term *problématique*, although for them, as well as this writer, growth does not adequately pinpoint the cause of the problems.

Problématique is a French concept which implies a structured hierarchy of questions and sub-questions, not just a haphazard series. A *problématique* structures its central component parts and identifies all the sub-problems emanating from them. In providing structure to describe the problems, it at the same time offers order to the way in which we attempt to resolve the problems. Preparation of a *problématique* requires a great deal of synthesis of often seemingly unrelated components.

Most people's view of the future used to be one of an easier and more materially prosperous life. This vision was fuelled by the image of a benevolent technology built on the discoveries of all-powerful science which would enable more and more sophisticated goods to be produced more cheaply. However, limits to social and material growth started to become a reality. Costs and other problems were escalating and returns diminishing. The sense of limits made popular by the Club of Rome became more appreciated because people began to experience more closely the negative social and environmental costs of industrial growth. No longer could the notion of limits be only associated with

the writings of a select group of thinkers. Many people began to develop coping strategies and with them altered visions of the future incorporating concerns for sustainability and humane ways of living.

One concept which emerged from this study and awareness of the problématique came to be known as the Conserver Society. It was given status among the many other visions of sustainable futures by being the subject of a Science Council of Canada report entitled Canada as a Conserver Society (1977). The Science Council suggested that:

A Conserver Society is on principle against waste and pollution. Therefore, it is a society which:

- promotes economy of design of all systems, i.e., "doing more with less";
- favours reuse or recycling and, wherever possible, reduction at source;
- questions the ever-growing per capita demand for consumer goods, artificially encouraged by modern marketing techniques, and
- recognizes that a diversity of solutions in many systems, such as energy and transportation, might in effect increase their overall economy, stability, and resiliency.

In a Conserver Society, the pricing mechanism should reflect not just the private cost, but as much as possible the total cost to society, including energy and materials used, ecological impact, and social considerations. This will permit the market system to allocate resources in a manner that more closely reflects societal needs, both immediate and long-term (p. 14).

As the Conserver Society concept has been studied and developed since it was first introduced, it has come to offer much in terms of helping to describe the degree of change required to resolve the problématique and the nature of the emerging paradigm. Initially the concept dealt simply with the conservation of material resources as reflected by the Science Council definition. A number of variations and elaborations of the concept, however, have emerged which reflect an expanding awareness of the scope of the problématique. These included references to fundamental changes in social structure, interpersonal relationships, lifestyle factors, the role of technology, visions of Man and how Man must relate to Nature. Developing in this way, the Conserver Society concept has followed and been consistent with many of the features described as part of a new emerging paradigm. Often the features are referred to as "alternatives." They are alternative to the established order of behaviour and thinking of the industrial paradigm.

While there is much evidence that major catastrophes are looming, there is also much which supports an optimistic view of the future. Robertson (1978), Harman (1979), Ferguson (1980), Starrs (1980), Toffler (1981), and Capra (1982), among many others have describe a positive image of the future but futures which are radically different from the past. Their works support the conclusion that a turning point in mankind's cultural evolution has been reached. This turning point marks the emergence of a diversity of approaches in designing the way

people live and the need for radical changes in perceptions. This is happening as a result of a shift in paradigms. The singular and linear ways of thinking shaped by the industrial paradigm, or what Toffler (1981) called indust-reality, are being displaced in post-industrial society.

There are two major challenges in the transition to a sustainable post-industrial society. The first has to do with how one view of reality, or paradigm, which no longer adequately guides people in the present or toward the future, can be displaced with another more functional paradigm. The second has to do with determining the nature of the emerging paradigm. It is these challenges which this thesis will address. The community development process described by this thesis will help clarify the process of shifting paradigms. The Conserver Society concept introduces aspects of the emerging paradigm.

Purpose of this Thesis

This thesis explores the significance of the paradigm shift, as a component of the community development process, by focusing on the activities of one group whose vision of development is based upon the Conserver Society concept. The group to be studied is Friends of the Earth, Canada (FOE). FOE is a confederation of local and regional environmental groups from across Canada. It is also part of an international network of FOE groups in over 24 countries. The

fundamental objective of FOE is to promote Canada's movement toward a Conserver Society. It does this by fostering cooperation and mutual support among member organizations, and by communicating with the Canadian public and Canadian decision-makers to promote more awareness of environmental concerns.

In this thesis the origins of the Conserver Society concept are traced and analyzed. Concepts identified in the literature as being part of a Conserver Society and contributing to its development are discussed. Recent literature on the phenomenon of social transformation is reviewed so that the community development process may be viewed within the context of current macro concepts of social change.

Special attention is given to examining the contrasting paradigms in the areas of work and wealth distribution. The paradigm shift, of which the Conserver Society concept is part, has consequences for how communities deal with these challenges and also for how these issues are perceived in terms of fulfilling human needs.

Data and Methodology

This research was approached in three ways. Library research provided historical data contributing to an historical account of the emergence of community development as an identifiable field; the history of community development in Canada, the presentation of

community development and social change theory, a description of development alternatives in Canada, and the evolution of the Conserver Society concept. Another category of literature reviewed dealt with macro issues covered by popular social philosophers and futures studies.

The discussion of the practice of community development in Canada is supplemented by some insights the writer gained while working with the Local Employment Assistance Program (LEAP) of Employment and Immigration Canada. Canada's direct job creation programs have been identified as examples of community development practice (Lotz, 1977). They certainly use community development rhetoric in their promotion and delivery. The experience of the writer will thus be used to confirm analysis of these programs found in the literature.

The second methodological approach taken involved field work to gather data for the case study of FOE. Data were obtained from FOE's publications and interviews. In the course of gathering data on FOE the writer took the role of observer; viewing how FOE behaved as a group and asking questions - but not getting involved in the group's activities. The writer attended a general meeting of FOE held in Calgary in June of 1982. A four-day visit to the Ottawa office of the organization was made in July of 1982 during which the staff and directors of FOE were most cooperative in providing assistance. Office files, reports, and correspondence were made available. Included in these were FOE's minute book, articles of incorporation, bylaws and annual reports. Most significant to the construction of the profile of

FOE, and to the ensuing analysis and interpretation, were partially structured personal and telephone interviews with FOE's staff and people associated with member organizations as representatives on FOE's Board of Directors. These interviews were conducted in June, July, and August of 1982.

The material presented in this thesis is organized as follows: Chapter Two provides an overview and critique of community development. This includes the origins and practice of community development in Canada. The patterns of its practice and the ideological basis for community development efforts are described. This chapter describes the industrial paradigm which is the dominant paradigm in Canada today. This paradigm has shaped the conventional concept of development upon which community development efforts have been based. The adverse consequences of this paradigm are presented and discussed in this chapter. The chapter culminates with a description of a model of the community development process accepted by this thesis; the role of paradigm shift in social change is discussed.

Chapter Three presents the notion of a Conserver Society, a detailed description of related concepts and the context from which the idea of a Conserver Society emerged and has been promoted. Various definitions of a Conserver Society are given and critiqued.

Chapter Four presents the illustrative case study of Friends of the Earth as it is involved in promoting a Conserver Society. The findings

of the interviews are discussed in this chapter as well as other data gathered about FOE's activities.

Chapter Five offers an analysis and interpretation of the data revealed in Chapter Four. The development process in which FOE is involved is described in terms of aspects of the emerging paradigm and how this relates to the community development process. This chapter presents conclusions drawn regarding the significance of the paradigm shift to development efforts and the implications of the emerging paradigm upon some fundamental assumptions and mechanics of development efforts.

Limitations of the Thesis

Analyzing the Conserver Society concept is a monumental task. For the Groupe Associé Montréal-McGill pour l'Étude de l'Avenir (GAMMA, 1976a, 1976b, 1976c, 1976d), it resulted in a four-volume study made up of technical papers from a variety of disciplines. It involved a long term study and many experts. This thesis obviously cannot compare in length or scope to the GAMMA study.

The writer will not attempt to substantiate claims of serious social, economic, and environmental problems other than by referring to works which have documented indicators of such. Furthermore, it is beyond the scope of this thesis and the capacities of the writer to enter into a discourse at the technical level on environmental problems.

The focus of this work is on the Canadian scene. Although the concept of a Conserver Society has global implications the origins of the concept and the subsequent attention given it have largely been in Canada. This is indicated by the number of books, articles and conferences dealing with the Conserver Society concept. At the same time, issues relating to the desirability of creating a sustainable future; the conservation of human and natural resources, decentralization and diversity, self-reliance and the design of environmentally and socially compatible technologies have been researched in many countries under a variety of labels not exclusive to Canada and a Conserver Society. Attention to community development - its history, concepts and definition - will for the most part come from the Canadian experience.

It is the writer's hope that this research, in relating community development to the Conserver Society concept, will emphasize the need to view the practice of community development within the framework of broad forces of social change which have been overlooked in the past. Development efforts which serve to increase the productive and consumptive capacities of people at a time when people are having to alter and reduce these capacities as well as seek alternatives may serve to exacerbate the problems society faces.

Significance of the Study

This research involves the examination of a timely and popular topic. A Conserver Society and the issues associated with it are important to the study of development theory and people's assessments of the desirability and feasibility of established development programs and efforts.

There are at least three areas of significance that can be attributed to this research. First, it builds upon other literature existing on the Conserver Society. In so doing this research attempts to synthesize diverse data under one theme. There is a need for clarification of the Conserver Society concept, identification of related issues and a review of recent literature.

Second, from the perspective of community development, this research attempts to determine the value of the community development process as it relates to helping explain the transition from an industrial society to a post-industrial society. This is where the significance of the paradigm shift in the development process can be explored.

Third, considering an alternative paradigm as a model for the future should have implications for the social structure of Canada. The ways centralist planners attempt to correct what are considered to be disparities in Canada and the conceptual basis upon which these attempts are based are challenged by a Conserver Society. It is

apparent that social and economic development efforts based upon the growth ethos and the promises of industrialization have been ineffective in meeting their objectives. The Conserver Society concept, therefore, raises questions about policy and program options being pursued in Canada to deal with social and economic development.

CHAPTER II

Paradigms and the Practice of Community Development

An assumption underlying this work is that advanced industrial economies are moving away from high growth rates and in doing so they will experience a period of social upheaval. The question for this writer is not whether industrial countries will change rather dramatically, but rather how the change will come about and in what direction. One perspective is that this transition should be accompanied by planning and rational design to minimize disruption. However, it is becoming more and more evident from the literature that this transition may be accompanied by a declining capacity to centrally design and plan for change. Instead, it appears that the transition may be characterized by what can be seen as a natural process of adjustment spearheaded by community-level action. This adjustment is expected to take place at the community level because a feature of the emerging paradigm is an emphasis on community. This is where adjustments will be manifested in changed lifestyles and different values and expectations underlying those lifestyles. This thesis is based upon the premise that the community development process offers assistance in understanding how paradigm shift occurs.

The history of the practice of community development illustrates of normative and conflict methods were used to encourage disadvantaged people to access more power and resources in the industrial state. However, few people ever examined the assumptions upon which this

practice was based. Attaining more is not always possible. Moreover, anomalies exist between the objectives of local people and the objectives of the industrial state. The following review and critique exposes some of these anomalies and underlying assumptions.

The objectives of this chapter are twofold. One is to establish some conceptual boundaries within which one can view the community development process. The second is to make the point that the practice and much of the ideology surrounding community development has been based upon an industrial world-view as its paradigm. Patterns of this are evident. This will be understood by a brief review of community development literature and descriptions of development in Canada. The historical origins of community development are reviewed and analyzed in this chapter to provide the reader the opportunity for a greater understanding of the traditions of its applications.

Historical Review and Critique of Community Development

The origins of community development practice can be traced back to the 1920's during Britain's retreat from her colonies in Africa (Lotz, 1977). It became Britain's desire to assist with the devolution of power and responsibility to the people of her colonies so they could become self-governing nations within the Empire. It was this process which contributed to early community development thinking.

The French dealt with their colonies in a different manner. They carried out programs of animation rurale. Their approach, rather than encourage self-government, was to establish structures which duplicated

and reinforced the French centralist system. Animation rurale had the goal of encouraging the assimilation of the colonized people into the French citizenry and strengthening ties with France (Lotz, 1977, p. 21). Both approaches, community development and animation sociale, as the French approach came to be known, represented a merging of mass education and social work approaches on the road to decolonization during the 1930's (Brokensha and Hodge, 1969).

Why, after 30 or 40 years of colonial rule in Africa, and longer in India, did the British become concerned about the development, education, and welfare of the colonial peoples? After all, colonial rule was based upon principles of metropolitan self-interest as well as benevolent paternalism - the dual mandate to civilize and exploit. Mayo (1975, p. 130) asked this question. She explained that at the political level Britain's growing interest in community development was based on self-interest. During the interwar period there was growing recognition of the economic implications of self-government. Britain had to forestall the inevitable economic impact of self-government with community development.

Some groundwork in community development was being done at the same time in the colonies by Christian missionaries (Bernard, 1973, p. 165). After much practical experience, their initial objective of bringing salvation to the heathens was watered down to the more earthly concerns of bringing them medical and educational services. Their work, too, became part of mass education efforts.

Cooperation and mutual aid, foundations of community development thinking, are not new to this century. Early evidence of the existence

of community development-type thinking can be traced back to London, England in the 1830's to the work of the Native Philanthropic Society. Early in this century there was the Indian poet Rabindranath Tagore whose village level youth workers started in 1908. In China there was the mass education campaign of the 1920's. Later there was the Constructive Program of Gandhi in the 1940's.

The modern cooperative movement, emerging as a reaction to the negative consequences of industrialization and its accompanying oppression of the working class, contributed much to community development (Lotz, 1977). The roots of the cooperative movement can be traced back to 1844 in England. As a social movement, cooperatives did not prosper until Fathers Jim Tompkins and Moses M. Coady brought the extension department of St. Francis Xavier University, in Antigonish, Nova Scotia into promoting them as solutions to the social and economic problems of Cape Breton. Their efforts pioneered in cooperative and adult education as well as university-sponsored efforts of community development (Christenson and Robinson, 1980, p. 24). The Coady International Institute based at St. Francis Xavier University emerged later out of the extension work of Tompkins and Coady. The Institute has provided a community development training program for over 50 years with financial support from the Carnegie Foundation.

In the United States the roots of community development go back to President Theodore Roosevelt's time (Christenson and Robinson, 1980, pp. 19-20). Roosevelt's 1908 Country Life Commission, in focusing upon how to improve rural life, gave impetus to the use of the agricultural extension model developed by the American land-grant universities. The

philosophy of extension work provided county agents the grounding to work with rural people in developing educational programs to meet community needs identified in local committees and clubs. As such, extension work became a process of diffusion of innovation into rural communities emphasizing the involvement of local people and a role for a change agent supported by government - closely resembling the practice of community development which followed years later.

Rural sociology played a prominent role in the emergence of community development in the United States. This has been acknowledged by Dunham (1970), Roberts (1979), and Christenson and Robinson (1980).

During the Second World War the colonies were cut off from their respective colonial powers. This allowed them to regain their self-sufficiency in growing their own food and relying upon their own resources (Lotz, 1977, p. 22). After the war Britain, as well as other European countries, was drained of financial resources. Independence movements had sprung up in most of the Asian colonies. Political independence for the colonies became desirable for both the colonies and the colonial powers. However, the colonial powers wanted to forestall independence until they cleared their war debts. By this time Britain had gained prestige for the way it was preparing her colonies, particularly African colonies, for self-government. This resulted in a popularization of the belief among the colonizers and the colonized that community development was an effective means of transferring power to people at the local level (Lotz, 1977, p. 23).

In 1948 British colonial officials held the Cambridge Summer Conference on African Administration. They clarified the purpose and

meaning of village development work by adopting the term community development. They defined it as:

... a movement designed to promote better living for the whole community with the active participation, and, if possible, on the initiative of the community, but if this initiative is not forthcoming spontaneously, by the use of techniques for arousing and stimulating it in order to secure its active and enthusiastic response to the movement. Community development embraces all forms of betterment. It includes the whole range of development activities in the district whether these are undertaken by government or unofficial bodies (Community Development, 1958, p. 2).

Britain adopted this approach with her colonies within a very particular context which was even less explicit than the economic motives of repaying war debts. The momentum of industrial prosperity generated by warfare resulted in the efforts to spread the web of industrialization and the doctrine of modernization into the colonies and newly independent states.

The "reverse lend lease" arrangement Britain made with the United States during the Second World War enabled her to repay war loans, not in dollars, but in raw materials from her colonies. As a result British investment in colonial development during and immediately following the Second World War was based upon facilitating the growth of industry in her colonies. Britain, therefore, could not encourage self-government to develop too quickly. Projects which built up the economic infrastructure and stimulated production of such commodities as rubber from Malaysia and cocoa from West Africa were used to help

bail Britain out of her economic problems during and after the war (Mayo, 1975).

In addition to this direct economic influence community development was ideologically significant in encouraging the formation of institutions and attitudes acceptable to the colonial powers and discouraging those which might lead to radical change. This generally meant community development was employed as a means to oppose the spread of communism or the emergence of politically unstable regimes in the colonies. Brokensha and Hodge (1969), Mayo (1975) and Lotz (1977) all shared this interpretation. Britain wanted to encourage democracy and local initiative and establish solid foundations for the approaching self-government (Brokensha and Hodge, 1969, p. 164). The United Nations was influenced by this perspective. By 1958 community development came to mean for the United Nations the process of bringing the colonies in line with "... political, economic, and social standards as established in the majority of democratic countries ..." (Mayo, 1975, p. 131).

Although a body of literature distinct to community development began to appear in the 1940's (Christenson and Robinson, 1980, p. 28) the words community development generally did not come to be recognized or referred to as an identifiable concept until after the last war. As discussed, community development was viewed as a means for preparing people for self-government. This view continued to influence how the field was conceived well into the 1950's.

Credit is given by some to Peter du Sautoy for first defining the concept. In reporting to the British Colonial Office on his work in Ghana he defined community development as:

... working with people at their own level of progress and teaching them to help themselves by the methods which are readily available to them, to improve their standard and manner of living by all practical means, no matter how little.

... in the definition of community development the words 'to help themselves' must always be stressed as the most important.

... the spirit of communal effort for the good of all is a spirit which community development aims to foster (du Sautoy, 1955, p. 8).

In 1949 United States President Harry S. Truman announced the Point Four Program of Modernization. This saw productivity as the key to community development and called for the application of scientific and technical knowledge to "help the free peoples of the world, through their own efforts, to produce more food, more clothing, more materials for housing, and more mechanical power to lighten their burdens" (Bernard, 1973, p. 164). Truman's Point Four Program spread American technologists and aide officials around the world. The program called upon Americans "to embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of ... scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas" (Lotz, 1977, p. 26). As well, assistance was offered to new nations to save them from communism and to make the democracies safe for private enterprise (Lotz, 1977, p. 26). By 1969, Brokensha and Hodge observed that the

greatest American expenditures on community development occurred in those countries most threatened by communism - Vietnam, Thailand, and Laos. Community development, in addition to offering industrial progress, modernization, technology and material wealth, thus became a means of disguising counter-insurgency activities for the protection of free enterprise (Mayo, 1975, p. 132).

The approaches of these writers and institutions combined the ideas of extension work and adult education, community organization, group work, training practitioners and research with an emphasis on economic development through democratic participation in community self-help (Christenson and Robinson, 1980). This was approached, and is still very much today, from the perspective of spreading industrialization.

The United Nations became extensively involved in community development in the post-war years through various programs of national planning. The United Nations defined community development as:

... the processes by which the efforts of the people themselves are united with those of governmental authorities to improve the economic and social and cultural conditions of communities, to integrate those communities into the life of a nation and to enable them to contribute fully to national progress (United Nations, 1956, p. 14).

Although community development originated in a colonial and rural context, its use spread during the 1950's to urban settings in western nations. Pockets of poverty and underdevelopment were being discovered amid the affluence of developed nations by the mid-1960's. There were also signs that the middle class was beginning to feel the strains of

urbanization and industrialization, the remoteness of government and its insensitivity to regional and local needs, and a general bureaucratization and depersonalization (Lotz, 1977, p. 30).

In the 1960's in the United States, community development was identified as the theoretical basis to wage the American War on Poverty. It was also discovered in Canada as a means of dealing with the concerns of such disadvantaged groups as Indians. Various programs were set up to provide the middle class, particularly youth, the opportunity to participate in their own development. In Canada the government of the Province of Manitoba established a community development program for native people as early as 1956. By the 1960's, community development thus came to be viewed as a means of bringing about social reform and assisting people to participate in the industrial state.

Pressures for citizen or public participation in the development process coincided with growth in official bureaucracy and the rapidity and scale of changes to which people were subjected in the developed countries during the 1960's. While increasing economic productivity was still an important goal of community development, its importance diminished through the 1960's. Emphasis shifted to social reform as the goal; with citizen participation as a counter-balance to the increasing size of bureaucracies. Strangely, community development continued to include, even strengthen, a role for the central government in making community development possible through the provision of funding programs.

As a prominent factor of this social reform movement, citizen participation was incorporated into community development literature. This was reflected in a United Nations report, Popular Participation in Development: Emerging Trends in Community Development (1971). The report reviewed the activities in community development as a world-wide movement. Lotz (1977) summarized the problems identified by this report as follows:

... village uplift on a self-generated basis was a mythical concept, some sort of outside stimulus and help was always needed; community workers often came into conflict with elected politicians, who after all, were supposed to bring benefits to local people; individuals benefitted in the name of community development; unless there was social reform, democratic community development was not possible; the 'felt needs' of the powerful dominated community development programs; projects were unrelated to regional and national plans; bureaucratization stifled the spirit of local initiative ... (p. 30).

Many cities have created, at various times since the early 1970's to the present, departments of community development or departments whose mandates include some concept of community development. These departments have generally not been philosophically or practically oriented toward community development as it is defined by the literature (Christenson and Robinson, 1980, p. 26). Most have been funding agencies for government programs or have specific and limited objectives such as business development, community planning, or physical/infrastructure development.

Some community development programs sponsored by local governments have been designed to encourage citizen participation. These kinds of

programs can be seen as an official antidote to the ineffectiveness of local government bureaucracies. They have most often been set up to encourage participation around fixed physical boundaries. The identification of these communities a priori neglects to consider non-spatial aspects which contribute to people's sense of community and reasons for participation; such as shared interests, communication patterns and social interaction. Moreover, the nature of participation, and the issues that can be addressed, has generally been predetermined by central decision-makers in government and institutions. Participation has had to conform to the systems and procedures established by institutions that were themselves the focus of dissatisfaction. In effect, programs that were designed to encourage citizen participation became for the decision-makers methods to institutionalize token participation in order to relieve the decision-makers themselves of responsibility and pressure. Understandably these programs have generally been short-lived and ineffective.

The experience of community development practice in cities, when attempted as a counter-balance to the local government bureaucracy, is another instance where the field became part of the broad social influences of industrialization and only helped to minimize social tensions in that process. Increasing centralization of decision-making is a feature of industrialization (Toffler, 1981). Community development, with its emphasis on citizen participation, has done little to make governing institutions more workable.

Until recently, a book by Biddle and Biddle (1965), The Community Development Process, was considered a classic in the field. It significantly influenced the practice and theory of community development. Biddle and Biddle conceived of community development as another method of social work. Their interpretation was that community development assists the disadvantaged overcome personal handicaps through the cultivation of their own initiative in community. It is based upon assumptions of consensus decision-making, conflict resolution and a conception of total community involvement. For Biddle and Biddle, community development thinking is firmly rooted in Judeo-Christian teachings and a belief in the improvement of people. Improvement is defined in terms of learning democratic skills, the responsibility to serve others and a growing awareness of a common good - a movement toward ethical sensitivity and a willingness to cooperate. Conflict should never be employed as an approach because its targets are excluded from this all-inclusive community. Most significantly Biddle and Biddle maintained that the community development worker should never become a destroyer of social order.

The work of Biddle and Biddle reflected the views popular in community development for some time. The themes of self-help and resident participation were characteristic of most rural and urban community development efforts. These themes were based upon the contemporary view that personal failures were the cause of disadvantage. Emphasis on individualism, although within community, conformed to the concept of industrial capitalism which glorified the individual. From this perspective community development, as conceived

by Biddle and Biddle, reinforced existing trends and ways of thinking. It conformed with the interests of promoting political ideologies compatible with the reigning powers and picking up the casualties of industrialization so that they could take part in the "good life" and not obstruct "progress." In describing this function of community development, Mayo concluded that:

... the non-radical (i.e., the reactionary and repressive) aspects of community development should be sufficiently obvious. As a relatively cheap and typically ideological attempt to resolve various economic, social, and political problems it has clearly been attractive to governments and voluntary agencies both national and international for use not just in the Third World but also among racial minorities and indigenous poor at home (Mayo, 1975, p. 137).

The anomalous characteristic of community development was that its literature was riddled with rhetoric which gave the semblance of change, and therefore, hope to those experiencing difficulty.

Community Development in Canada

The traditional for community development in Canada has generally been centralist recognition of the need to work on behalf of disadvantaged people and underdeveloped regions unable to partake in the material prosperity brought by industrialization (Lotz, 1977, p. 35). In the mid-1960's, the federal government, proclaiming its sense of social justice, its role to improve the material standard of living

of Canadians and its responsibility for the national economy, responded to the growing awareness of problems and unrest among the poor, minority groups and residents of economically depressed areas, with community development. From this context the late Lester Pearson, then Prime Minister of Canada, wrote in July 1966:

As a philosophy and a method, community development offers a way of involving people more fully in the life of their communities. It generates scope and initiative which enables people to participate creatively in the economic, social, and cultural life of a nation. It provides, above all, a basis for a more profound understanding and a more effective use of democratic processes. These are essential elements of Canada's social policy. These principles underlie our current economic and social programs which, in essence, are designed to make it possible for people to overcome low income, poor education, geographic isolation, bad housing, and other limitations in their environment (Lotz, 1977, p. 35).

The separation of powers and responsibilities between the federal and provincial governments influenced the nature and delivery structures of economic and social programs available. With health, welfare and education as provincial responsibilities, the provinces were able to obtain equalization funds to work directly in these areas themselves. Joint federal-provincial efforts emerged as the major means for the federal government to apply some of its community development thinking.

At the same time, many private and volunteer organizations, foundations, churches and local governments were getting involved in efforts described as community development. The Young Men's Christian

Association (YMCA) used a community development approach in its work with inner city groups in Montreal and Toronto (Lotz, 1977, p. 46).

Several provincial governments, including Alberta, Manitoba and Ontario, set up their own community development programs, beginning with Manitoba in 1956. Community development was recommended to the Manitoba government by Jean Legassé, a social worker, as a way of dealing with the problem of Indians and Métis which were becoming more visible (Lotz, 1977, p. 39). Even though Manitoba's program was short-lived, 1956 to 1968, it was significant for being the earliest program identified as community development in Canada. It influenced the evolution of the field of community development, particularly in Alberta.

Manitoba was seen to have used community development as a temporary measure to diffuse the potential for conflict until it was able to organize for large-scale industrial development - particularly with pulp, paper and lumber mills at The Pas - as a solution to its Indian and northern development problems (Lotz, 1977, pp. 41-42). Mathias (1971, pp. 124-179) described how costly it was for Manitoba to go the route of large-scale growth-oriented development.

In the mid-1960's there were five federal government departments which came to be identified with involvement in and support for community development. They were the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Secretary of State, Manpower and Immigration, later renamed Employment and Immigration (CEIC), Health and Welfare and Regional Economic Expansion (DREE). Community development emerged out of these departments' responsibilities for social and economic

development programming. In the early days they all offered their staff training in community development which was largely identified with the then popular trends in group dynamics, leadership training and communication skills.

The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development sent its community development workers to Indian reserves in the provinces and to work with native groups in the north. Programs to train Indian community development workers were devised. However, it was not long before the government community development workers were pulled off the reserves. Their activities were seen to threaten and undermine the formal system of Indian administration of the department and conflict with the patterns of self-help emerging among native groups (Lotz, 1977, p. 45). Eventually native organizations took over their own community development programs from the government (Lotz, 1977, p. 46).

The Department of the Secretary of State in the early 1970's began providing funds to community groups, particularly those representing minorities, to encourage their cultural development, organizational development and participation in the multicultural mainstream. This department has been seen to be the first to offer social programming based upon a commitment to a sense of social justice and the equity objectives of a just society (CEIC, 1981, p. 134). The Department of the Secretary of State's support for minority and ethnic groups still exists today and retains the use of the term community development.

The federal government's response to concerns about poverty and underdevelopment within Canada can be seen to have led to the creation of two types of programs (Lotz, 1977, p. 36). Both types used

community development rhetoric in their promotion and delivery. There were the social programs designed to assist disadvantaged individuals identify and develop their skills, needs, and opportunities. The goal of these social programs was to get people contributing to and participating in the mainstream of the larger society. These programs were based upon the premise that disadvantaged individuals were themselves responsible for their state of deprivation through personal failure or because of the depressed community in which they chose to live. These programs included those already described as well as the Company of Young Canadians (CYC), NewStart, Opportunities for Youth (OFY), Local Initiatives Program (LIP), Community Employment Strategy (CES) and the Local Employment Assistance Program (LEAP).

The other type of program the federal government began was the type that was designed to strengthen and stimulate the economic base of designated communities and regions. This type of program relied heavily upon the injection of massive amounts of funds into underdeveloped areas in an attempt to attract industry and mimic the pattern of industrialization of Canada's heartland. Included were the efforts under the Agricultural Rehabilitation Development Act (ARDA) passed in 1961, and the programs of DREE.

Direct job creation has been a feature of Canadian government policy since the Great Depression when the federal government responded with the Relief Camp/Job Corps approach. Direct job creation reappeared in the 1950's. During the late 1960's and early 1970's job creation became associated with community development when Canadian employment policy became characterized by involvement of individuals

and community groups in massive job creation efforts. These efforts traditionally have been directed by the goals of equity in income distribution and contributing to social or community betterment (CEIC, 1981, p. 134). Such goals were consistent with the overall goal of promoting high rates of industrial growth.

Launched in 1971, OFY was the first federal government program to deal with the problem of unemployment on a community basis (CEIC, 1981, p. 134). The federal government contributed funds to groups of young people who designed and ran their own projects to improve the "social fabric of their communities." Young people naively thought they could tackle complex social problems, assist communities and develop their own capabilities. They soon found themselves caught between their own priorities, the needs of communities and increasingly stringent guidelines laid down by the government (Lotz, 1977, p. 54). The federal government was under no illusion. It was placing the surplus labour pool of the "baby boom," energetic young people, into a holding tank (CEIC, 1981, pp. 137-138). There would be an appearance of meaningful work and no threat of the unemployed disrupting the continuance of industrial endeavours.

For the older unemployed person there was LIP. It started at the same time as OFY and was also community-based. The focus of LIP was to "make work" for the unemployed on community projects in the same fashion as OFY. Since 1975 LIP and OFY have been replaced by many programs varying only in name and with slight changes in targeting criteria and emphasis. The holding tank nature and the continued transfer of massive amounts of funds remain key features.

In 1980 the federal government began another of its social programs in direct job creation, the Canada Community Development Program. Replacing Canada Works, which was dismantled by the short-lived Progressive Conservative federal government, this program continued the tradition of community-based job creation efforts. Other than in name, there is very little to distinguish this program from its predecessor. The use of the name community development is significant in that it is indicative of the program planners' and political leaders' depth of understanding, definition of community development, and concept of development.

The federal government's social and economic development programs are highly political in their delivery with much of the decision-making regarding project approval made by Members of Parliament who, as the unemployment rates rise, use funds for "pork barrelling." Evaluation criteria address only two growth-oriented factors: number of jobs created and total funds expected.

The community-based direct job creation programs have failed to provide necessary technical assistance or access to the skills the community groups who have used these programs have needed (Lotz, 1977, p. 56). This observation was confirmed by the writer's own experience in direct job creation. The emphasis in the delivery of these programs has been upon control, accountability for funds, and complying with program criteria. Lotz accurately identified the no-win situation in which federally-funded community groups find themselves. If a project looks as though it is failing, funds are cut off. If it becomes successful in creating too much independence, this too becomes

threatening and the funds get cut off. Either way dependency upon the State is inevitable.

There is no indication that the federal government will or can go further than injecting larger and larger sums of money into these kinds of short-term make work programs. Recently, a federal task force looking at employment in the 1980's identified them as inadequate (CEIC, 1981). The report pointed out that:

The major policy dilemma in designing job creation programs is whether to regard employment and employment programs as ends in themselves or to situate these initiatives in the more global context of the long-term social and economic development of the individual within the community (p. 141).

In trying to clarify its position, the task force went on to state:

It is the contention of the Task Force that a wider more global development approach is essential for the future, and that direct employment policy must be tailored to meet not only short-term goals but also broader, longer-term development objectives.

... short-term programs such as job creation, while useful in some circumstances, tend to foster a dependency upon both services and jobs created by projects. Community groups and elected representatives lobby for prolongation of the project and further injections of funds into the area irrespective of the actual contribution of the work to the needs of the community as a whole.

... bureaucratic imperatives such as the need to move large amounts of money quickly and establish prescribed, pre-planned program procedures and schedules further remove programs and their staff agents from any real potential to undertake substantive development, especially in underdeveloped areas or in aid of disadvantaged groups (p. 142).

This report clearly acknowledged that the state fosters dependency upon the government. Yet the task force turned around and recommended in its conclusions continuation and augmentation of government-funded community-based programs through the establishment of a centrally orchestrated development system framework. This apparent contradiction surrounding the current state of direct job creation programs reveals many of the characteristics, functions and confusion in development programs.

When DREE was established in 1969, there was a major philosophical and program shift from comprehensive social and economic development to the urban concept of growth centres and special areas (CCRD, 1978; Hayter and Storey, 1979; Todd, 1977). Growth centres were urban areas in lagging economic regions perceived to have potential for industrial growth if only they were given the necessary capital investments in infrastructure development and industrial incentives to attract industries. Special areas were selected locations where there appeared to be a specific resource development opportunity.

This spacial strategy to development was adopted by DREE, particularly in the Atlantic region, in response to the degree of economic growth achieved within the highly urbanized economy of Ontario (Todd, 1977). Growth centres were visualized as magnets for drawing surplus population from marginal occupations, such as agriculture and fishing, to industrial employment. Much of the support for this kind of approach came from the provincial governments who viewed the roots of their problems in the lack of concentrated populations, and the lack of industrial employment in manufacturing and plant location (Hayter and Storey, 1979).

The creation of General Development Agreements (GDA's) through DREE in 1974 provided the federal government and the provinces the vehicle to direct all available resources to meet provincial development priorities (Hayter and Storey, 1979). With GDA's, local community involvement was eliminated and more planning and negotiating between the federal and provincial governments added. GDA's provided for sectoral sub-agreements in a variety of areas of industrial activity such as forestry, ocean industries and manufacturing. These agreements were conceived of as a comprehensive approach to development, but most sub-agreements emphasized large-scale infrastructure and industrial developments excluding concern for human and social development needs (CCRD, 1978, p. 25).

One exception was the western Northlands agreement which included the recently expired Alberta North Agreement. It was more community and socially-oriented, similar to the Newfoundland ARAD III program. The Northlands Agreement included investments in "social capital," such as education and training, community infrastructure (e.g., Métis housing) and resource development. It was designed to broaden access to government programs for the area and its inhabitants (CCRD, 1978, p. 25). In Alberta it allowed for innovative efforts in making school curriculum more relevant to people in native communities by providing mechanisms for local involvement in the development of curriculum through Alberta North projects. At the same time, it encouraged the depopulation of isolated native communities through the Employment Counselling and Relocation Program. It encouraged training for industrial occupations through the Alberta Opportunity Corps. In spite

of its emphasis on human and social development, it must be pointed out that the kind of human and social development that was encouraged was consistent with the industrial world-view.

The deliberate depopulation of rural and underdeveloped areas was, and still is, a characteristic of many Canadian development efforts. It was a goal of ARDA and also the earlier Fisheries Household Resettlement Program in Newfoundland. The latter was designed to encourage, if not force, rural people to migrate to larger and supposedly more viable centres which would offer industrial employment and a full range of social services (Copes, 1972; Matthews, 1976). The first resettlement program was begun in Newfoundland in 1954 and was followed by a succession of programs up until 1975. At the time, most people saw the resettlement program as accelerating a natural process of evolution toward industrialization.

DREE became involved in resettlement by designating the resettlement centres as eligible for federal assistance as growth or service centres (Todd, 1977). However, the expected levels of growth, industries, and jobs did not materialize in these growth centres. Instead they became ghettos of people dependent upon government transfer payments of one sort or another with none of the traditional sources of income-in-kind any longer available.

There was much condemnation of the service centre concept and the centralization of population as a development strategy, most notably by Matthews (1976; 1977). In addition to demolishing community bonds, these programs were based upon a limited assessment of what constituted community viability. The typical economist's cost-benefit analysis

neglected to consider many community strengths just as significant to development as economic indicators.

There has been considerable debate both for (Copes, 1972; Todd, 1977), and against (Matthews, 1977), the orientation toward growth, industrialization and promoting the centralization of the population in the Atlantic region as the means for the region's development. Recognition has grown that DREE's spatial approach has been ineffective in bringing about its intended pattern and level of industrial activity (Hayter and Storey, 1979). Matthews (1976; 1977) argued that not only were DREE's spatial and growth-oriented approaches to development ineffective, but they encouraged the development of greater dependency for the region. He presented this argument from the perspective of Frank's dependency theory (Frank, 1966). By Matthews' interpretation the challenge of regional development efforts was to mould the underdeveloped region to a form of interest to outsiders (strengthen externalities in economic terms) rather than alleviate regional disparity. Matthews concluded that:

... as long as the value orientation of planners is towards theories of economic growth that ignore social structure and culture, these communities will continue to deal with the debilitating effects of urbanization and industrialization (1976, p. 168).

It is not just the value orientation of planners with which problems are being found. The role planners represent as experts and the top-down orientation of government's approach with a particular view of development are receiving criticism.

As early as 1969 pessimism was expressed regarding the effectiveness of this industrial-urban approach to development taken in Canada (CCRD, 1978, p. 24). To the Canadian Council on Rural Development, identifying the industrialization of growth centres with development was a vast over-simplification (p. 24). Mathias (1971) was critical of the growth orientation of both federal and provincial governments and their attempts to encourage large-scale economic development projects. All of these development efforts including community development were based upon assumptions about the nature of Canadian society. The validity of those assumptions is in question with the shift to a new paradigm based upon alternative assumptions.

It is paradoxical that federal government programs designed to alleviate regional disparities escalated in scale and intensity while there were warnings that growth was not a solution to problems. Growth-oriented development efforts had been identified as the cause of many social, economic and environmental problems by the early 1970's. The message was clear that these problems would be exacerbated if growth continued to be pursued. In spite of these warnings, development economists continued to prescribe measures to promote economic growth. Burke (1978) pointed to this paradox in development strategies designed for the Atlantic region. When the world economy demanded very little growth, Burke observed, efforts were still based upon attempting to duplicate growth patterns experienced in the more industrialized parts of Canada.

Patterns in the Practice of Community Development

Certainly the ancestors, origins and practice of community development are as numerous and diverse as the literature reflects (Lotz, 1977; Christenson and Robinson, 1980). Many of the examples of early community development efforts and factors contributing to its emergence described here are included in Dunham's list of 24 factors (Dunham, 1972). He placed particular emphasis on relating the emergence of community development in the United States to the nature of frontier communities - isolated, largely autonomous and dependent upon self-help for survival. With all this in mind, it is clear that community development did not emerge suddenly with recognition as a new-found strategy for social change as much of the literature of the 1960's implied. It can be seen to have emerged gradually in a convergence of a variety of social, political, economic and cultural influences.

In summary, community development's historical roots are found in the process of decolonization which included applications of adult education approaches. It was significantly influenced by thinking in economic development, extension service and the field of community organization. The industrial nations each came to develop their own styles of community development entailing the above components while trying various ways of informing and involving people in the process of industrialization. Increasing productivity and the diffusion of innovation through modernization became purposes for community development. The interpretation of development being synonymous with

modernization and growth that was introduced by the United States after World War II was taken up by the United Nations (1956) and integrated into the development objectives of all the industrialized countries, including Canada. Some historians of community development have linked its practice to motives of the dissemination and protection of monopoly capitalism (Mayo, 1975; Brokensha and Hodge, 1969). An even broader theme evident in the history of the field is the role community development has played in linking developing countries and underdeveloped regions of developed countries into the web of industrialization.

Not only did industrialization imply changed patterns of living, it implied that the individual had to be modernized to create a model personality type. The non-material aspects of development can be viewed as having been part of the process of changing the patterns of thinking of the "less developed" to be more consistent with the industrial world-view. What this process did was define progress as moving millions of people out of traditional forms of self-sufficiency into mass production. This required urbanization, standardization, and all the rest of the industrialization package typified by Toffler's Second Wave society (Toffler, 1981). Development meant, Toffler concluded, the faithful imitation of an already successful model, that of industrialization (p. 329).

In Canada community development can be seen to have helped establish a role for government in development. The problems of coping with unequal development patterns and rapid change came to be seen as a responsibility of the central government. As such, government

officials defined problems of development as being "out there" rather than in the centres of power where resources remained in the hands of a few. Many governments at different levels experimented with community development. A variety of programs were spawned by governments encouraging citizens to get involved in change while the governments were intent on retaining the power. Often they were surprised by the unintended consequences of these programs when citizens embarked upon radical actions they perceived necessary to reach their objectives. Community development was given a role to play in the process of industrialization by enlisting greater participation of those by-passed by industrialization. If it went beyond that and came too close to challenging the established order - the meaning of development for Goulet (1971, p. 119) - the programs were not allowed to survive.

Though community development was professed as part of government programming in the 1960's and 1970's, what often went by that name now appears to have been a kind of administrative device to involve groups of disadvantaged people in the delivery of services the government itself was expected to provide. This was because governments saw community development as a way of involving groups of people who could otherwise threaten the stability and continuance of industrial prosperity. In direct job creation programs this strategy has been expressed outright. It has been admitted that community involvement was necessary to get community groups doing for themselves what government wanted to do for them but found it more effective and politically advantageous to involve groups in the delivery of services targeted for themselves (CEIC, 1981, p. 137).

For awhile community development was clearly in vogue. The State and many private organizations were using it as a theoretical base for programs. Young people, themselves products of the prosperity of industrialization, were eager to join the ranks as "community developers" because of the many job opportunities the field afforded. These mainly middle-class young people had little or no training for the industrial job market so what else could they do? The State created seemingly meaningful opportunities in the CYC and OFY, until they could be absorbed by the federal public service (Lotz, 1977) and terminated these programs before they could bring about any significant change.

Programs like ARDA began working at the community level with a high degree of local participation. They evolved, through DREE, into programs directed at large geographical areas and industry sectors through GDA's. Rather than a comprehensive approach to local problems and opportunities, development was fragmented into a narrow sectoral approach with a lack of coordination among various development programs and agencies. In government circles comprehensive development came to be equated with centralized control: a high degree of centralized planning and decision-making at the federal and provincial levels. These programs have typically been characterized by attempts to develop a model or standard to apply in all development efforts. So today, growth-oriented development programs are found which still encourage the centralization of population and large-scale industry while there is a significant voluntary move toward de-urbanization and unassisted de-industrialization (Toffler, 1981, pp. 262, 298).

In efforts to encourage the development of areas designated in need, and of people designated as disadvantaged, large numbers of people in Canada were told, and came to believe, that their inferior way of life needed improvement because they did not rise to standards of consumption and service enjoyed by those in the metropolis. Disparities have generally measured in monetary or material terms. Both from the voices of the Right and Left, Canadians have learned of disparities in per capita income, rates of employment, labour force participation rates (Economic Council of Canada, 1977; Atlantic Development Council, 1978; Gonick, 1978) and various measurements of regional economic performance such as new capital investment and transfer payments to persons and provinces. The emphasis has been upon the distribution of material well-being rather than social and psychological well-being.

The emphasis upon establishing standards for all aspects of human experience is a key feature of the industrial paradigm. Toffler (1981, pp. 46-68) described standardization as a code of his "Second Wave" industrial civilization. This feature required the "software" - the procedures and administrative routines - to be standardized along with the hardware - the tools of production. The observation can be extended to include the way of life of a community. The Economic Council of Canada in 1977 in A Study of Regional Disparity documented disparities and emphasized the pressing need for Canada to ensure that all Canadians enjoyed a certain standard of living in terms of goods and services - the dominant concept of the "good life." The Council equated development with peoples' degree of integration into the modern

industrial society - their ability to consume. Without discounting the benefits of material progress for people living at or below subsistence, one can conceive of meeting peoples' basic needs and a high quality of life without integration into the industrial society. This reveals that diversity particularly in levels of consumption of the goods and services is incongruous with the industrial concept of development. This has been the case even though such inequities are characteristic to the industrial state.

All of the federal government's development efforts have involved the transfer of massive amounts of monies. Much of this kind of approach is based upon the assumption that Canada can overcome problems by simply increasing spending, the popular interpretation of Keynesian economic analysis. In so doing the role of the State in development has meant creating dependencies: dependencies upon the funds and individual dependencies of the concept of having a "job."

There are other more subtle aspects of the federal government's development programs which have the function of creating dependencies. Community groups are compelled to structure employment on their projects in line with industrial wage labour concepts. Part-time work, a shorter work week, a condensed work week, or any other alternatives are not permitted. Wage rates must be set at the minimum. For the State this ensures large numbers of the unemployed people are kept busy for as much time as possible lest they turn to other more meaningful aspects of development. In most cases prospects for the availability of industrial wage labour after the government funds dry up are minimal. The consequences of this kind of development are such that

people are prepared psychologically and socially for a limited concept of work and view the only route to self-sufficiency as coming from jobs provided to them by society's institutions. A job becomes another commodity sought by a consumer in the job market. At the same time traditional sources of self-sufficiency are abandoned or forgotten in this process of dependency creation. From this perspective the connection between job creation and community development can be seen to draw attention away from the real issues affecting dependency and underdevelopment in Canada.

The experience of the writer in one of the federal government's social development programs in direct job creation confirmed Lotz's conclusions about these programs. His conclusions are still applicable in 1983.

Instead of creating conditions for people to help themselves, and each other, community development programs have created dependency. Instead of opening up new opportunities, these programs had created a feeling of frustration. Instead of fostering initiative at the local level, they have encouraged people to do what the government wanted (1977, p. 37).

It is, therefore, not surprising to learn of groups of the unemployed forming and expressing frustration with the federal government. Some have been exploring the liberating opportunities offered by the informal economy, in the exchange of goods and services, as described by the Vanier Institute of the Family (1978; 1979).

There have been indications that the role of community development in Canada should be viewed from the macro or "ecological" perspective

to take into consideration broad trends in social change (Bregha, 1970; Stinson, 1978). Bregha noted the drift from an industrial to post-industrial society and accurately predicted that the equitable distribution of income and assets would become more of a problem for Canada than problems of production. Yet, Bregha observed, community development's areas of attention were focused upon "development-as-increase" in resources and productivity - primarily the same approach community development took in developing countries (1970, p. 75).

The fundamental conflict between community development and the functions of the welfare state - Gunnar Myrdal's concept of the welfare state - helps explain the experience of community development practice in Canada (Bregha, 1970). The welfare state creates, enhances, and institutionalizes dependency. It serves to create addictions to the consumption of goods and services, unrelated to the real needs of peoples' freely chosen priorities. Needs are artificially created to serve the interests of government and industry. While this artificiality appears to be accepted, it promotes powerlessness and alienation in the long run (Bregha, 1970, p. 77). Services, no matter how excellent, are not enough if people cannot do anything about the situation that creates the need for them. What should have distinguished community development from other more service-oriented strategies was its goal to transform the causes and conditions shaping the quality of life so that as few people as possible would depend on any kind of service at all (Bregha, 1970). Being government-supported and consistent with the dominant industrial paradigm community development could not bring about such radical change.

Bregha concluded that the focus of community development should have been upon the reallocation of assets and power in order to bring about real change, and this necessitates entering the political and social action arenas. Though Bregha provided a useful analysis of the function of the welfare state and the practice of community development in the context of the welfare state, he did not view the ends of community development being anything other than economic and material. He also saw power being exercised from positions of economic dominance. These two assumptions, while being critical of the industrial world-view, are not so strong in the emerging paradigm.

This overview and critique has identified what the writer views as significant points in the historical origins of community development, its characteristics, and patterns in its application. These indicate that community development emerged out of the process of industrialization as it gained momentum in the more modern nations and spread to other parts of the world. Community development fell within the range of social and economic programs which were used for the purposes and progression of growth-oriented economic development efforts. The history of community development in this context reveals its use of normative or conflict methods to encourage disadvantaged people to enter into political participation with the goals of attaining more power and resources in the industrial society. This observation is confirmed by Stinson (1978) who noted few people ever questioned whether "more" was possible in the modern industrial state. The history of all development efforts, including community development, indicates there has been little examination of the assumptions underlying its practice so there has been:

... a failure to see community development in its broader context and recognize the inherent anomalies which existed between local efforts in community building, self-help, self-sufficiency, and the macro forces of modernization which ran counter to these and, in effect, coopted community development for the overall objectives of the industrial state ... (Stinson, 1978, p. 11).

The history and practice of community development in Canada do not significantly differ from other countries in the functions served for the national governments and centres of power (Roberts, 1979). Its practice has been laden with the values of the industrial society values which Goulet (1971) argued cannot be avoided in development efforts. It is important to acknowledge that the values and objectives underlying development efforts came to be shared by the majority of Canadians. It has not been that the government's objectives were radically different from what local people have believed to be development. Most people believed industrialization to be a natural evolutionary process.

At the same time the emphasis in development policies and practices, and the direction in which development has been steered, has depended upon those who made the political decisions, their values, and their view of the world. Their perspective has placed emphasis on exploitation, the development of natural resources, and shaping people's lives by patterns of production and consumption. Development policies have always conformed to satisfying the needs of those who make decisions. It has been in respect of these two aspects, decision-making and the nature of local involvement, that community development has often conflicted with the conventional view of

development. From this perspective the cooptive and repressive aspects of community development described by Mayo (1975) predominated. Community development came to be used to promote the decisions of centralist planners.

It should now be apparent that the popularity and effectiveness of community development experienced during the 1960's and early 1970's in Canada wanned not because it was replaced by a more effective approach, but because of its marginality and even conflict with the dominant social paradigm in which it operated. Roberts (1979) made this observation in saying that "... it is precisely in such a mass society with its values based on economic returns, largeness of scale, multinational corporations and international decision-making, and the remote rule of 'experts' that tolerance for and effectiveness of community endeavour is unlikely ..." (p. 43).

There have been many anomalies in the practice of community development in the context of Canadian culture. The idea of people working together to solve common problems has counteracted competitive individualism and exploitation which predominates much of community life. Collaborative relations have contrasted with hierarchial, authoritarian, and mechanistic relations in organizational philosophies. Interdependence has contrasted with independence. Community development has been associated with all of the first order characteristic while the second order has been associated with the dominant social paradigm of the industrial society. Reich (1970), Roszack (1969), Robertson (1978), Ferguson (1980), Starrs (1980), Capra

(1982) and many others described signs that the dominant social paradigm is being challenged by alternative ways people are relating to each other and the environment.

This review and critique of the practice of community development has been provided in order to illustrate the patterns of the industrial paradigm underlying its ideological base. There were many ways in which community development was influenced by the industrial paradigm. At the same time there are fundamental conflicts between community development and the industrial paradigm. These conflicts have resulted in continual tension between the practice of community development and industrialization.

The Industrial Paradigm

The practice of community development need not be tied to concepts associated with the industrial paradigm. This thesis suggests that the community development process is much more compatible with aspects of the emerging paradigm. Before exploring the emerging paradigm, of which the Conserver Society concept is part, the features of the industrial paradigm will be described. The emerging paradigm becomes clearer in contrast to the industrial paradigm. The reader should by now have some ideas as to the nature of the industrial paradigm upon which most community development efforts have been based.

Paradigm Defined

The meaning and use of the concept of a paradigm is crucial to understanding both the ideological roots of the practice of community development and the ideas of alternative development associated with the move to post-industrial society.

Thomas Kuhn in his The Structure of Scientific Revolution (1962) used the term dominant paradigm to describe the lenses through which social groups - in his case groups of scientists - give meaning to social and physical phenomena. Kuhn described paradigms as universally recognized scientific achievements which provide model problems and solutions to a community of practitioners. He examined:

the major turning points in scientific development associated with the names of Copernicus, Newton, Lavoisier, and Einstein. More clearly than most other episodes in the history of at least the physical sciences, these display what all scientific revolutions are about. Each of them necessitated the community's rejection of one-time-honoured scientific theory in favour of another incompatible with it. Each produced a consequent shift in the problems available for scientific scrutiny and in the standards by which the profession determined what should count as an admissible problem or as a legitimate problem-solution. And each transformed the scientific imagination in ways that we shall ultimately need to describe as a transformation of the world within which scientific work was done. Such changes, together with the controversies that almost always accompany them, are the defining characteristics of scientific revolutions (p. 6).

The key to Kuhn's explanation of scientific revolutions was the notion of a shift in the dominant paradigm.

A paradigm has since come to be known as:

a body of beliefs, values, ideas, theories, and data accepted by a community of scientists which then guides their selection of problems, methods of attack, choice of instruments, "hardware," "software," techniques, and forms of explanatory conceptualization (Bernard, 1973, p. 7).

Although Kuhn refers to paradigms in the area of scientific achievement, the word is often used to refer to general foundations for a research tradition. Bernard (1973) described the paradigms surrounding the sociological study of community. She described some of the characteristics of paradigms in that research tradition which are relevant to the study of paradigms in development. Inertia is built into paradigms by the very nature of communities built around them (Bernard, 1973, p. 8). The community demands conformity to the traditions of the paradigms for fear of sanctions. Few individuals have strong and innovative minds so non-conformity results in a heavy psychological price for those who deviate from the established norms. Paradigms show us how to see what was, rather than what is, because there is always a lag between new data (or awareness of a different reality) and the paradigm change. When events overtake old paradigms, as they always do, "... the suspicion strengthens that the classic community paradigms are not guiding either policy or research in the most useful way. They are being rejected by planners and revolutionaries because they are not programmatic on the one hand nor, on the other hand, adequate to handle causality ..." (Bernard, 1973, p. 13).

Originally Kuhn's meaning of paradigm was simply synonymous with "pattern" or "model," but it has come to be used more with reference to social systems and cultural evolution. Berger and Luckman's work The Social Construction of Reality (1967), was closely related to Kuhn's work on paradigms and the structure of science. They were directly concerned with the social construction of individual perspectives on society.

In being broadened to include social systems, the dominant paradigm concept has been described as:

The collection of norms, beliefs, values, habits, and so on that form the world-view most commonly held within a culture and transmitted from generation to generation by social institutions may be called a dominant social paradigm (DSP). Paradigm is a useful shorthand term for describing the prominent world-view, model, or frame of reference through which individuals or, collectively, a society, interpret the meaning of the external world. In other words, a DSP is a mental image of social reality that guides expectations in a society. A DSP is the socially relevant part of a total culture. Different societies have different DSP's. A social paradigm is important to society because it helps make sense of an otherwise incomprehensible universe and to make organized activity possible. It is an essential part of the cultural information that is passed from generation to generation as it guides the behaviour and expectations of those born into it (Pirages and Ehrlich, 1974, p. 43).

When a dominant social paradigm is shared by most members of a society, social and political stability is easily maintained. When fundamentally different paradigms exist within the same society, as is the case in the world today, competing views are certain to increase

tensions. Industrialization resulted in a uniformity of world-views, but as the industrialized nations move into a post-industrial era uniformity is impossible to maintain. Toffler (1981) described how the uniformities were maintained and manifested in "Second Wave" industrialized societies. This was a feature of all industrialized nations regardless of political orientation - capitalist or socialist. Pirages observed that the evidence of alternative paradigms indicates an impetus for either rapid, or perhaps revolutionary change, in advanced societies within sustainable growth constraints (1977, p. 7).

The Paradigm Shift

Seen in the context of cultural evolution, changes to the assumptions and attitudes underlying the industrial dominant social paradigm can mean nothing less than the designing of a new culture (Pirages and Ehrlich, 1974, p. 44). In industrial societies both the context of culture and the institutions responsible for passing it on have been shaped by the successes of industrialization. The affluence and resultant materialism of industrialization has significantly contributed to the norms, values, and beliefs that are now part of an industrial culture. Some of the components of the industrial culture are a belief in progress, and associated with it, faith in the steady increase in material affluence, a belief in the necessity and goodness of growth, a high value placed on work (in the form of a job), the nuclear family and a view of nature as being something to be dominated by mankind. These are also characteristic of what is identified in the

literature as the industrial paradigm. One must conclude that altering the dominance of the industrial paradigm, therefore, is the equivalent of designing a new culture. This was the point of view of Pirages and Ehrlich (1977), Robertson (1978), Harman (1979), and Capra (1982). A shift in paradigms can thus be seen as the cultural equivalent of a evolutionary leap.

It is not often understood that the conventional concept of development is associated with a belief system. Goulet is known for broadening the concept of development beyond presumed objective, value-free, economic, and material terms to include explicit or implicit values of the person defining development (Goulet, 1977). The dominant or convention view of development, illustrated by the earlier review of community development, is embodied in what this thesis calls the industrial paradigm. The features of the industrial paradigm have been separately described by Pirages and Ehrlich (1974), Robertson (1978), Stinson (1978), Harman (1979), Valaskakis, Sindell, Smith, and Fitzpatrick-Martin (1979), Starrs (1980) and Capra (1982). These features are also marbled throughout the literature addressing the world-problématique.

It is difficult to synthesize the industrial paradigm onto a few pages of print because, as concluded earlier, this would be a synthesis of many components of the industrial culture. Harman (1979, p. 24) noted that a dominant paradigm is seldom, if ever, stated explicitly and it cannot be defined precisely in a few well-chosen sentences. He described the dominant paradigm as what the anthropologist hopes to understand after having lived in another culture for a long time. To

Harman a dominant paradigm encompasses more than an ideology or a world-view but less than a total culture. With these qualifications the writer will attempt to draw from the works of the above noted writers to compile a description of the industrial paradigm.

Features of the Industrial Paradigm

There are numerous features of the industrial paradigm, but for the purpose of this study the writer has listed eight major groupings of ideas, beliefs, values, and theories:

1. Industrialization in the production of goods and services has meant organizing and sub-dividing work into increasingly elemental (and less intrinsically significant) increments, and replacing human labour by machines. It is expected to lead to higher productivity of labour and a higher standard of living. Industrialization is equated with the notion of progress and has meant that societal well-being is measured with GNP and other output-oriented measures. Economic growth is deemed good and essential.
2. The scientific method is deemed to be the only legitimate mode of inquiry. Knowledge is approached through reductionism. Hypotheses are derived from observed behaviour and departures from the hypotheses is taken to indicate deviant behaviour. Prediction and control are the guiding values of science. The search for knowledge through science is considered predominantly utilitarian. Technology is almost synonymous

with science, with technological progress being a goal. In this light progress is defined in terms of technology as well as economic indicators.

The scientific method is seen to be capable of being applied to societal and community problems. This includes a dissection into manageable parts, the analysis of cause/effect relationships within each part, to objective measurement, and the creation of models which are assumed to be universal in application. Problems then tend to be defined in terms of preconceived solutions. These solutions usually require a single technological remedy applied by specialists and/or institutions.

3. Increased specialization, institutionalization, centralization, and even monopolization are features of the industrial paradigm. These trends are encouraged and assumed to be in good order to secure a sense of greater efficiency and effectiveness of output in each component part.
4. Trade-offs are necessary to pay for maintaining the health of the economic delivery system. Such trade-offs as inflation for employment, environmental degradation for economic growth, institutionalized mechanistic relationships for personal collaborative relationships, or objective knowledge for subjective knowledge are accepted as necessary.
5. Social justice is equated with industrial individualism meaning "to each according to his ability." That ability in turn is equated with the performance of productive roles in the

economic system. The individual is free to seek his own self-interest, as he defines it, in the marketplace. Those who are unable to play such roles, or can only play with limited effectiveness, are provided for through "tickle-down" mechanisms or by institutionalized social services.

6. There is reliance on a sense of an established, stable, and predictable order to support and perfect the performance of the economics of the industrialized countries. This over-reliance on order has given rise to a system vulnerable to conflict and stress when disruptions to the established patterns of trade and development occur (e.g., disruptions to trade in oil, food, or other raw materials). The perceived need for such order also gives rise to expressions of concern about the "ungovernability of democratic societies."
7. Anthropocentrism is a feature of the industrial paradigm. This concept describes Man's relationships with Nature. It is a legacy of the Judeo-Christian tradition (Valaskakis et al., 1979, pp. 16-18). Being the pinnacle of God's creation of Man is seen to be superior to Nature. Nature was created to serve Man's needs and has unlimited resources so there is no threat of depletion. Nature is incompetent. It is Man's challenge to master and improve upon Nature. Moreover, Man has an unlimited ability to understand Nature.
8. Acquisitive materialism is a central operative value of the industrial paradigm. This value is supported by the belief in unlimited material progress. It is assumed that happiness is

achieved primarily through the accumulation of things. The increased consumption associated with materialism is a privilege, a right and often a duty. It is a duty to keep the productive machinery of the industrial nation oiled by maintaining demand for the goods produced. This is also because scarcity remains, both consciously and unconsciously, the dominant social problem. At the same time it is believed that affluence will eventually accrue to all. This will happen only if society produces and consumes at an ever-increasing rate. The more one acquires and consumes the better for society and the individual's status in society. This feature of the industrial paradigm relates to its view of the nature of Man. Man is greedy, materialistic, and self-serving. However, the collective expression of self-interested activities is seen as expressing the public good.

The industrial paradigm has been moulded by centuries of cultural evolution. It has offered people an understanding of the complexities of society, a set of common truths with supposed survival value, a framework for collecting and storing relevant information and a definition of problems in need of solutions. However, the continued adherence to the industrial paradigm as a guide for development and public policy in industrial nations, as well as less developed nations, has resulted in a culture full of enigmas, dilemmas, and inconsistencies.

Consequences of Conventional Development

The conventional concept of development as based upon the dominant industrial paradigm has been industrial and growth-oriented. It has resulted in a host of consequences for Man and his environment and has given rise to concerns about the kind of future this path of development is creating for mankind. There are numerous examples of these adverse consequences throughout the literature describing the problématique. Many have been touched upon already. They include:

1. increased degradation of the natural environment and the sudden recognition that severe resource depletion is a possibility;
2. great waste of human and natural resources, and the difficulties in safely and acceptably disposing of waste;
3. alienation, discontent, and impoverishment in the midst of affluence;
4. a widening gap between the "have" and "have-nots" within and between communities and nation-states, and the growing injustices and social turbulence that gap brings upon society;
5. the pervasiveness of institutional authority and adversarial, mechanistic, competitive relationships, and the growth of forces of law and order, regulation and regulatory bodies;
6. the powerlessness of the citizenry and of social institutions seemingly incapable of coming to grips with the problems they face, despite the so-called information explosion; and
7. the sudden recognition of growing scarcity in what was seen to be once abundant-clean air, water, human capacities, and the sense of community.

This list certainly could be augmented and elaborated upon.

Since one of the vestiges of government involvement in community development is in the area of job creation, it would be valuable to delve briefly into the inconsistencies and consequences of the industrial paradigm as it relates to the concept of work.

The prevailing emphasis upon institutionalized economic activity, with the goal of economic growth, makes work something which is provided for people or which they demand as the dependents of employing institutions. This is the basis of the role of the Department of Employment and Immigration and its efforts in direct job creation. People are encouraged to be dependent on society's institutions for all important aspects of their lives. Specialization has meant that institutions are the only sources of jobs for the specialized. The work ethic results in people losing status in their own eyes and in others' if they cannot get work. The concepts of work are glorified in industrialized countries. Work is a job. It is done for an employer for pay and it counts in the employment statistics. Unpaid work or any work performed in the informal economy, described by the Vanier Institute of the Family (1978; 1979), does not count, in spite of the great function it serves for individual and community self-sufficiency. Statistically unemployed people are assumed not to work when in fact they may be performing very socially and economically valuable work which is unmeasured.

These inconsistencies surrounding the concept of work in the industrial paradigm are identified by Pirages and Ehrlich (1974, p. 47), Robertson (1978, pp. 88-101) and Harman (1979, pp. 51-65). They

noted that the introduction of labour-saving technologies in the institutionalized workplace has reduced the length of the work-week and increased productivity per worker. At the same time, large numbers of workers are freed up to join the ranks of the unemployed and supported at the poverty level by the State. The dividends of such automation accrue to a small segment of the population - the owners of automation. The rising premiums get paid by another segment of the population and the State - the long-term ability of both to pay these premiums is questionable. The introduction of micro-technologies has accelerated this process.

The industrial paradigm also offers an elaborate supporting ethical theory for the inequities and seeming inconsistencies of the industrial system (Pirages and Ehrlich, 1974, p. 45). The rich and influential can think they are doing the right thing conspicuously consuming and exploiting the poor because, according to the popular myth of the industrial paradigm, the rich achieve their position by virtue of cleverness and hard work. The poor, in the meantime, are in that state because of their failures, and they therefore deserve their situation. The industrial paradigm relieves the individual of examining and facing consequences.

Aspects of Canada's concern about nationhood can be seen as a product of the industrial paradigm. The idea of the modern nation, a single integrated political authority, goes along side of a single integrated economy (Toffler, 1981, p. 83). Thus, Canada witnessed Newfoundland's drive to industrialize in an effort to become an ideal partner in the Canadian confederation. There are many other

explanations which can be offered to explain drives to industrialize, including the tendency of the industrial paradigm to standardize as in standard of living, but the myth of nationhood can be seen to have guided much of the contemporary thinking in domestic development.

It is generally not appreciated that the concept of development is associated with a body of values and beliefs - a world-view or paradigm. It is in the nature of paradigms to imply a sense of truth to the holders of the paradigm. The nature of the industrial paradigm, as has been discussed, includes beliefs surrounding truths, facts, and objectivity. It assumes these to be true for all people, in all places, and at all times. Resistance to development based upon such a paradigm is, therefore, to be expected when that paradigm is not shared by people in developing countries or in the developed countries.

In describing the evolution of industrial "Second Wave" societies, Toffler noted that all came to be guided by what he called the "progress principle" (1981, p. 101). This was the idea that history flows irreversibly toward a better life for humanity. "... Progress justified the degradation of nature and the conquest of 'less advanced' civilizations ..." (Toffler, 1981, p. 102). This notion of progress has been shaken by contemporary analysis of social and environmental problems. One example is the work of Edward Renshaw, who, in his book The End of Progress (1976), documented many reasons why the material and growth-oriented notion of progress in industrial societies would have to change. It can thus be said that much of the thinking behind development theory is in a state of confusion because the traditional notions of progress and development are no longer and can no longer be

widely shared and the nature of the problematic questions the meaning of development.

This description of the consequences of conventional development could be augmented but the writer believes it has captured the essence of the industrial paradigm. It is to these features which many analysts as well as ordinary community people are now pointing as the roots of the predicaments in which the world now finds itself. Challenges to the industrial paradigm are emerging, being promoted, and followed by many people. They are defining what they believe society ought to be, what it can be; they are acting in the present to bring about change in their communities. These alternatives fall under a variety of labels of visions for the future: a Conserver Society, a Steady-State (Daly, 1977a; 1977b), a SHE (Sane, Humane, and Ecological) future (Robertson, 1978), a Transindustrial World (Harman, 1979), the Aquarian Conspiracy (Ferguson, 1980), the Third Wave (Toffler, 1981) the Solar Age (Capra, 1982) and many more. In spite of these alternative views, the industrial paradigm remains the dominant paradigm for Canadians as well as people of other industrial nations, regardless of political ideology. It provides the framework for the assumptions of the majority of community development and development efforts. However, there are significant indications, such as the alternative futures mentioned above, which show there is a breakdown in the stronghold of the industrial paradigm.

Transformation

Several writers refer to the process of shifting paradigms as a process of "transformation" (Ferguson, 1980; Harman, 1979; Robertson, 1978). A transformation means literally a restructuring. Bell's notion of systemic transformation in The Coming of Post-Industrial Society (1973) reflected a view of transformation as a technology-based restructuring. He predicted that growth in service occupations and knowledge-based industries would provide work for all and that advancing technology would bring societal problems under control. This notion of transformation is rooted in physical, material, and structural changes in society.

The other notion of transformation, and the one most relevant to this thesis, has to do with a change of consciousness, a new "seeing." It is psychologically-based, involving one's consciousness of self and one's view of the world. Robertson (1978) and Ferguson (1980) used this notion of transformation to describe the process of gaining a consciousness of other perspectives. Charles Reich's levels of consciousness are reached by this kind of psychological transformation (Reich, 1970). Hielbroner (1975) called for the need for both kinds of transformation but doubted the ability of the individual and society to achieve the kinds of radical restructuring he thought necessary.

Robertson (1978) was much more optimistic than Hielbroner. His notion of transformation included psychological restructuring and an understanding of transformation as a process of "breakthrough" as well as "breakdown" (pp. 103-124). Transformation as both breakdown and

breakthrough is another way of describing the process of shifting paradigms. There is a breakdown in existing values, lifestyles, and institutions. The manifestations of breakdown are found in the literature relating to the world-problématique and the consequences of conventional development listed above. Robertson listed: domination by big technology, the waste of human and natural resources, pollution, inflation, paralysis of institutions, a widespread sense of personal helplessness and others (pp. 104-106).

Breakdown is being replaced by breakthroughs which indicate the potential for a new and better society. Breakthroughs are emerging with:

... a new emphasis on self-help, self-reliance, and self-sufficiency; a new balance between the sexes; a growing interest in social, economic, and political structures which serve people rather than dominate them; a growing commitment to appropriate technologies which do the same; a growing feeling that we are all inhabitants of the same planet, citizens of the same world; a growing ecological consciousness; and an increasing interest in a spiritual and cosmic approach to life ... (p. 104).

Since so many people depend on the old order for almost every aspect of their lives, Robertson suggested mitigating hardship by strengthening and directing energies toward aspects of transformation relating to breakthrough. In addition, he stated that the inevitable transformation of society would be accomplished more effectively and peacefully if the practical psychology of shifting paradigms was better understood (p. 119). This thesis suggests that one practical method of

understanding paradigm shifts and broad social change is in the context of studying the community development process.

Definition of Community Development

Community development can be a confusing concept. It can mean many different things to many people. Definitions have been typically abstract and general. The definitions listed in Appendix I confirm these observations. Words like community and development appear simple enough to understand in common usage so that people quickly conclude they know the meaning of community development as a concept and a field of practice. It has not helped that writers and practitioners tended during the 1960's, and still do to some extent today, to interpret the meaning of community development to suit their professional background and personal philosophy. The complexity and confusion inherent in community development has long tormented the field and its study (Whitford, 1967).

There are many assumptions, values, traditions of practice, and much questioning surrounding development and community development. This has contributed to an inability to apply discipline and rigour to its study and application. As a result the field is surrounded by woolley thinking and much has been carried out in its name by simple virtue of good intentioned community work. As Lotz noticed in 1977, one cannot help but notice overtones of millenarianism and utopian thinking in community development. This thesis suggests that one of the reasons community development has experienced so much confusion,

and why it was able to be coopted to serve in the process of industrialization, is that the process is closely related to the cultural paradigm of those who are attempting to stimulate the process.

The literature dealing with community development, however, is generally consistent in relating it to conditions of social instability and change. As an activity, emphasis has been upon seeing it as a problem-solving process; that people are capable of both perceiving and judging the condition of their lives; and that they have the desire and capacity to plan and act together in accordance with these judgements to change that condition for the better.

Roberts' Model of Community Development

There is a model of the community development process which is particularly relevant to this study (Roberts, 1979). Roberts' model is distinguished from others by its inclusion of the concept of a paradigm shift in the development process. For this reason it is Roberts' model which defines the community development process for this thesis.

Community development is viewed as a process by Roberts. There are basically three other ways community development has been distinguished in the literature: method, program and movement (Sanders, 1958). Sanders' fourfold typology is still useful in helping to sort out the variety of ways community development can be viewed and practiced. As a process, Sanders says that community development:

moves by stages from one condition to the next. It involves a progression of changes in terms of specified criteria. It is a neutral, scientific term,

subject to fairly precise definition and measurement expressed chiefly in social relations ... Emphasis is upon what happens to people, socially and psychologically (p. 5).

Roberts' model entails two perspectives: development as a learning process and development as a political process. From the former perspective it is assumed that people have the capacity to perceive and judge the conditions of their lives and to adopt behaviours to make what they consider to be improvements upon that condition. Part of this learning process, Roberts described, gets people looking critically at the reigning paradigms of society. As such, Roberts' model deals, as did Malloy (1976), with the need to increase people's consciousness of the possibility for change. This challenge to the reigning paradigms goes further than just becoming conscious of alternatives to the present order. It includes the formulation of alternative ways of viewing the world and the future. This brings people to see their world in a new way and their differences with others not part of the process. In this way the process involves transformation in perception. It is this aspect of Roberts' model which addresses the role of the paradigm shift in development which is most useful to this study.

Roberts drew much from the field of adult education in formulating his model of community development. He saw the learning perspective of his model as coming from the radical view of adult education; being an examination and possibly even a rejection of conventional wisdom. From his experience in Rhodesia and Canada, Roberts came to support the

radical view of adult education which involves not only promoting the acquisition of knowledge and skills with which people can organize their lives and cope with problems but also including the need to perceive the world anew.

This community development process begins with people expressing a feeling of unease, of tension. Something is wrong and they are unhappy with the current situation. They may not be aware of the cause or causes of their feeling of tension but as a group they share a sense of unease and they have come together because of that sense of sharing a problem. As they grow in their awareness of the problem they begin seeking out the cause of the problem. Their personal feeling of unease thus becomes linked to an external source of conflict and a problem is clearly identified.

Throughout this community development process learning takes place for those involved in the group. Group members must learn about themselves as individuals and what it is about themselves that finds the current situation unsatisfactory. Each person as well as the group must learn - about their individually or commonly held assumptions, attitudes, objectives, skills - and about the aspect of their environment which comes to bear upon the problem. Part of that environment can be the social philosophy or paradigm which guides those who exercise power and authority.

Dominant social paradigms are solidly anchored in socially shared perceptions of the surrounding world. It is uncomfortable to hold or espouse beliefs that differ from those held by friends, relatives, or members of one's group. This is why a crucial component of this

community development process is examining perceptions of the world. In so doing members of the group learn about their own and others' perceptions. This sharing solidifies the group's sense of identity vis-a-vis those outside, and introduces the opportunity of learning about other views of reality.

Group discussion of the problem will result in the formulation of a set of objectives because discussion will usually get to the point where the group asks itself, "Where do we go from here?" At this stage of formulating objectives the group solidifies as a community. So it is not just an awareness of tensions but establishing shared objectives which clarifies the identity and membership of the group as a community.

To fulfill the objectives formulated by the community further learning may become necessary in order for it to enter into action. It may involve acquiring skills or gathering information. The community, when it feels prepared, carries out some action to affect resolution of its problem.

The community development process is a political process as well as a learning process. It is a political process because it seeks collective goals through the channelling of the energies and resources of the community. Effective action requires an assessment and use of power and influence. This is so regardless of the level at which the action is undertaken - within the community or when the community interacts with people or institutions outside their community.

Evaluation of any action should take place after it is completed in order for the group to see how successful it has been in working toward its objective. The evaluation exercise may reveal continued or greater

tension, that the problem is not resolved, or some new tension in the community may bring about a re-entry in the whole process. These various stages may overlap but the group does experience the feeling of being involved in a changing process.

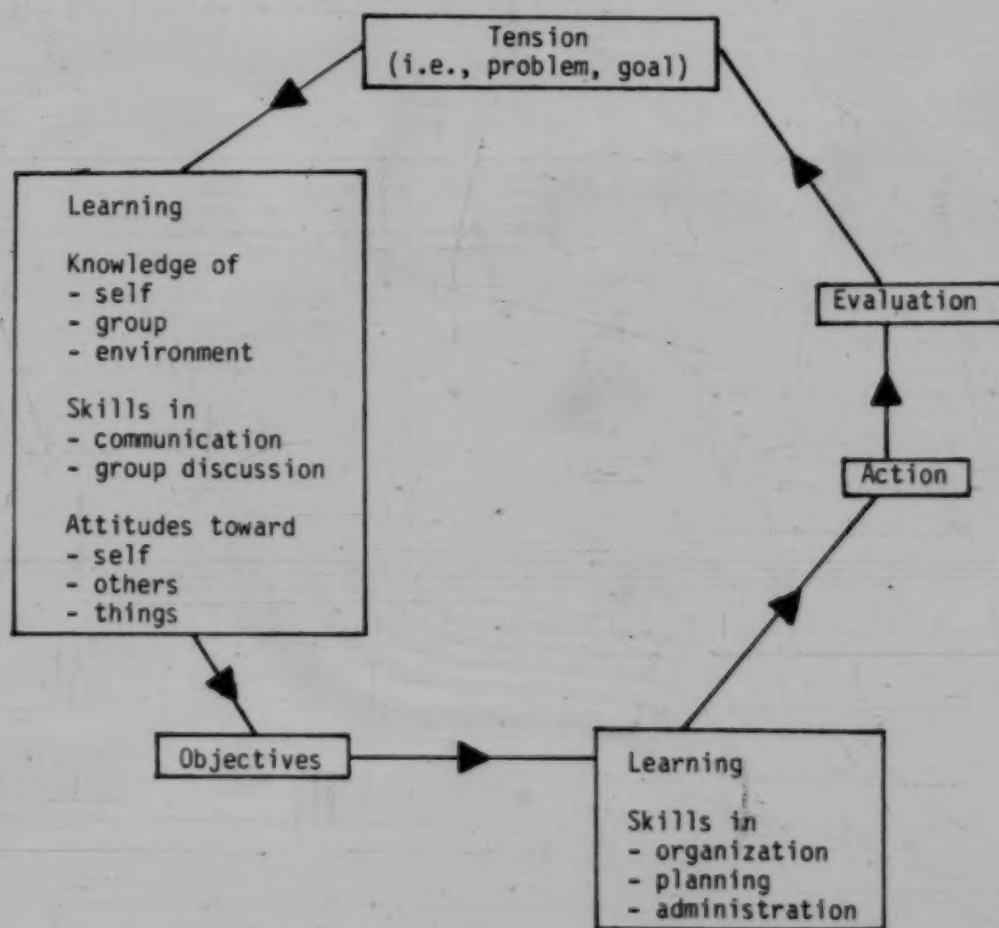
Roberts suggested that this community development process be viewed as cyclical as seen in Figure 1. A spiral image of the process can also be taken if immediate resolution of the tension does not take place. A spiral also suggests some sort of hierarchy in achievements for the group with regard to successful resolution of the problem and the community's sense of satisfaction or improvement.

The Role of the Paradigm Shift in Community Development

In an unpublished paper entitled "Community Development in an Era of Paradigm Search: A Canadian Perspective," Stinson (1978) stressed the need to view the practice of community development within the context of shifting paradigms. Stinson's paper and the writings of Roberts (1979) are the only two works found in the literature which make a connection between the community development process and shifting paradigm. Stinson described characteristics of the industrial world-view and suggested that community development would likely be more compatible and enriching for emerging alternatives to the industrial paradigm. Similarly, Roberts (1979, p. 43) cited works which suggest that there are signs of change in the dominant paradigm of the affluent countries of the West. He identified these emerging features of the post-industrial society and suggested they look more

Figure 1

Roberts' Model of the Community Development Process



Note: From Community Development: Learning and Action by H.W. Roberts, 1979, p. 36. Copyright 1979 by H.W. Roberts. Reprinted by permission.

hospitable to the philosophy and practice represented by community development.

Stinson's work (1978; 1979) and that upon which he had influence (Reddin and Clarke, 1979) seems to suggest that emerging alternatives to the modern industrial society, including the Conserver Society, are features of another kind of participatory movement, not community development. They identified similarities but had difficulty viewing alternative efforts as being part of what has traditionally been described as community development.

Friere's process of developing a critical consciousness is similar to the process of shifting paradigms in the community development process (Friere, 1970). Friere seems to suggest that qualitative change, the emergence of a new dimension of consciousness, is initiated and accompanied by the development of people's capacity to criticize their present reality. This involves an awareness of the internal condition of the community, the environment and the values inherent in the social situation in which the community exists. It is Friere's point that fundamental change will only occur when people begin to identify and question the fundamental assumptions which support their present socio-cultural reality which relates to the paradigm shift described in this thesis. The paradigm shift requires one to see oneself outside the established order.

From the perspective of examining cultural change, Leshan (1977) suggested that one shifts realities all the time. Leshan believed that the process of shifting realities can be managed or controlled and that the switching process can be identified. He described a way of

observing the process of shifting realities by having a group go through a problem-solving exercise. If the group monitors its working construction of reality, that is, controlling the assumptions, values and beliefs which influence the group process, it is able to choose the cultural framework it wants to use in order to achieve its objectives. What this means is that the construction of reality largely depends on what people focus upon. If the focus is changed the construction automatically changes.

Leshan's discussion of shifting realities in the process of problem-solving remarkably resembles the community development process. Problem-solving appears to be an essential component for both cultural change and the community development process. One might conclude that the community development process, which involves a shift in the operational paradigm of a group, is simultaneously a process of cultural change. Coming to this conclusion adds greater dimension to an understanding of the community development process and deciding upon the areas of social behaviour one can consider part of the transition to a post-industrial society.

The obsession with growth and the stronghold the industrial world-view are experiencing some strain in terms of consistency and degree of adherence among Canadians. The existence of numerous alternative initiatives and the discussions surrounding aspects of the Conserver Society in the next chapter are evident of this.

The community development process ascribed to by this thesis, as well as the emerging paradigm, accepts that a fundamental transformation of reality does not come from above, from the

government, or whatever forces have an interest in maintaining the existing reality. Development occurs only through people beginning to question and comprehend the nature of their existing reality, at the same time realizing that they have the power to change that reality. That power to change reality cannot be given to people. They must take it for themselves and create it by their own learning and action. This is the role to be played by community groups in the transition to a post-industrial society. There are two questions which this conclusion raises. First, what kind of organization will it take to bring about this transition? Second, what will be the nature of the "community" in post-industrial society? The next two chapters will attempt to respond to these questions.

This study argues that community development need not be based upon the industrial paradigm; that if the community development process entails a paradigm shift it could offer communities a diversity of paradigms to create and within which to operate. In so doing community development can be seen as a significant process in helping to explain and understand how communities cope with the various negative ways which the current problématique affects the condition of their lives. The questions remain as to what role, if any at all, exists for the traditional concepts of development and the Second Wave institutions promoting that concept.

CHAPTER III

The Conserver Society

The concept of a Conserver Society is very broad. It relates to what have for years been labelled as alternatives and to many other terms which are currently popular. These include: alternative development, the Familial Society concept, appropriate technology, self-sufficiency, the soft path, decentralization, conservation, ecodevelopment and others. Although the concept of a Conserver Society is not recognized as a focal point for all of these, it acts as a window which helps one see how these and other terms seem to be linked together. This thesis suggests that the common elements in these terms reflect a new emerging paradigm which is replacing the old industrial paradigm. The exact nature of the new paradigm is not yet fully understood, but efforts of dispersed community groups, such as FOE Canada promoting a Conserver Society, are in the forefront of helping to question the old paradigm and understand the nature of the new.

This chapter establishes an overview of one alternative to the dominant vision of post-industrial society. The chapter covers some common themes and related concepts found in the literature describing the transition to a post-industrial society. This background is established in order to provide a conceptual foundation for analysis of the concept of the Conserver Society concept and its principles.

In its most general sense, the term Conserver Society emerged as a response to the pressures and momentum of industrialization. These

pressures have included not only the physical, which become more and more felt and documented by the day, but also pressures upon the limits of economic, social, political, institutional and human capacities in present society. People sometimes commonly refer to the Conserver Society in implying a perception that the aspirations thought to be achievable through production and consumption are really unachievable through those means, that they can only be achieved by depriving others, or only with excessive indirect costs, and that these aspirations ought to be able to be fulfilled through other means. In this sense the conserver society is commonly used as the antithesis of the consumer society. The consumer society is the manifestation of the industrial paradigm. Its emphasis on consumption and production is seen to have been pushed past the point of need simply to keep the economy "healthy."

The term Conserver Society was coined by the Science Council of Canada, an agency of the federal government whose mandate it is to draw attention to issues affecting science and technology. It introduced the concept in the early 1970's in its report number 19, Natural Resources Policy Issues in Canada (SCC, 1973). In that report the Science Council examined the technical side of the problématique. The concept has since captured the interest of other federal agencies and departments, and non-government organizations.

References to a Conserver Society in the literature identify it variably as a concept, a philosophy, a paradigm, a vision or a symbol. The use of these labels very much depends upon the context in which it is being discussed. For the sake of consistency and to eliminate

confusion, the writer refers to the Conserver Society as a concept when describing it in the present and as a vision when referring to it as an ideal for the future.

A Conserver Society is a name for an alternative future. Out of the dissatisfaction of the present and indications of the potential for greater crises in the future, the Conserver Society is seen to offer people a positive vision of a sustainable post-industrial society. At the same time it includes a package of interrelated principles and concepts which offer guidance to its adherents for action in the present. Although the concept is applicable primarily to societies referred to as industrialized, advanced, developed, or overdeveloped, being a response to the problématique means that it has global implications.

The Conserver Society concept addresses concerns that have been expressed in many different disciplines about ecological crisis and social stress. It captures many of these concerns, and, as reflected by most of the literature, does this with a positive image. This positive image contrasts with the negative characteristics of many forecasts (Heilbroner, 1974). The positive aspect of the concept is what many of its adherents emphasize when trying to convince people that conserver behaviour should be redefined as good and desirable. Thus, a Conserver Society has become associated with a new meaning of "progress."

While concerns about energy, resources, and the environment represent the most common understanding of the Conserver Society, there have been, as reflected by the literature, attempts to introduce as

part of a Conserver Society other concerns about modern society. Starrs (1976) first noted this in her survey of Canadians' views of the future. She found that the issues raised by the Conserver Society concept go clearly beyond conserving resources to a more fundamental shift involving the restructuring of our patterns of knowledge and discovering a more adequate image of Man (p. 49).

The struggle among students of Conserver Society issues to understand its more fundamental implications is reflected by the writings of Lovins (1977; 1979a; 1979b) and Leiss (1976). Lovins' examination of the energy debate brings him ultimately to see the questions as ones reflecting competing value systems in the transformation between two different paradigms. Leiss points to a Conserver Society in terms of how it must raise questions about the satisfaction of human needs and human fulfillment through commodities. Both Lovins and Leiss point to the conflict between values consistent with a sustainable future and the values underlying industrial society.

Visions of Post-Industrial Society

The concept of a Conserver Society and other alternative initiatives are closely connected to the vision of the future held by its promoters. The common vision of the future has been that it will be a continuation of past trends, with minor disruptions like economic recessions being just temporary. The present world problematique and continuing recessions, however, indicate that a continuation of the past will be neither possible nor desirable if mankind is to survive.

Willis Harman (1979, pp. 2-3) referred to four points of discontinuity between the past and the future identified by Peter Drucker in 1968:

1. new technologies were making existing industries obsolete and future technologies would emerge from new knowledge of atomic and nuclear structure, biochemistry, psychology and symbolic logic;
2. changes in the world's economy were toward a one-world interdependent economy;
3. society was becoming dominated by institutions, interdependent ones as well as special-purpose; and
4. access to knowledge was becoming the crucial resource in economics.

Although these points have generally been confirmed as describing actual changes, evidence of new discontinuities just as significant as these four have emerged but have not been recognized. Harman added to this list of discontinuities by including elements of the adverse consequences of the industrial paradigm of development which were listed in Chapter II. He pointed out that:

1. There is a "new scarcity" different from the scarcities in food and shelter of the past, but more fundamentally linked to approaching planetary limits in relation to exploiting natural resources and the waste-absorbing capacity of the environment.
2. Large numbers of people have become dissatisfied with the economic and political status quo as a result of rising levels of education and mass communication and are demanding greater self-determination.

3. People are disillusioned with the once-accepted belief that ever-increasing material wealth, new technologies, and industrialization would help all people meet their basic needs or achieve more meaningful existence.
4. People of the Third World, the discontented poor, have demonstrated their ability to disrupt the economics of the developed nations as well as become a more powerful force for change.
5. A new emphasis on the intuitive and spiritual experience has shaken the long-standing trend of empirical explorations and materialistic values. (Harman, 1979, pp. 2-3)

These discontinuities suggest the need for fundamental change in all our social, political and economic institutions; our social roles and expectations, and even the basic premises underlying modern culture and values. This is where the discontinuities provide direction for the shift in the dominant social paradigm which will guide future society. Harman predicted that this shift is not just an evolutionary development but one of the great transformations of human history. His earlier work on the Stanford Research Institute's publication, Changing Images of Man, thoroughly explored this point and made the same conclusion about the significance of the current paradigm shift to human history (SRI, 1974).

Relating more specifically to discontinuities to be experienced in Canada there have been Gerald Barney's report Global 2000: Implications for Canada (1981), Edward Goldsmith's study commissioned by the Advanced Concepts Centre of Environment Canada (1977), and Environment

Canada's Perspectives on the Next Decade (1974). The Global 2000 report painted a relatively optimistic picture for Canada based on the country's apparent abundance of resources. However, the authors of Global 2000 contended that Canadians do not have an adequately clear image of the nation or of the evolving world, and they need to awaken to and address a number of pressing matters. They warned of Canada's vulnerability in a variety of sectors including its dependency upon a resource exporting economy, climatic changes and internal tensions relating to resource development policies and benefits.

Out of the study of current social and environmental problems and how these necessarily relate to an altered vision of the future have emerged numerous scenarios. One might view the popularity and rapid rise of futures studies in the last decade to be attributed to a growing sensitivity to these discontinuities.

There are innumerable titles used to describe images of modern society and visions of post-industrial society. Marien (1976) documented more than 1,000 books and articles published this century in which the authors gave some title for modern society or a new era. A total of 350 titles for modern society were identified. He categorized them into three indexes: (1) titles for the present society, (2) titles for an evolutionary stage which are accompanied by theories describing the present social transition, and (3) titles for desired societies (what society ought to be or can be). Corresponding examples of each would be: (1) Hazel Henderson's Entropy State (1978), (2) Kenneth Boulding's Post-Civilized Society (1970) and Charles Reich's Consciousness III, (1970), and (3) Robertson's SHE future (1978).

Since 1976, when Marien published this study, many more titles have emerged to describe modern society; all of which can be categorized in the way Marien has done. The Conserver Society can be considered to be in Marien's third category as a title for the desired society. However, it is much more than just providing a title for a vision of society. It also offers guiding principles for its achievement as is characteristic of Marien's second category.

Until quite recently thinking and writing about the future has been dominated by a vision of post-industrial society as a high-technology, affluent and centralized service society typified by Bell's scenario (Bell, 1973). However, Marien (1977) described how there are actually two different usages of the phrase "post-industrial" society, each having developed independently of the others. He provided a brief history of their development as well as a useful synthesis of both visions. One vision refers to a centralized technological, affluent, service society. The other refers to a decentralized and ecologically-conscious agrarian society which follows in the wake of a failed industrialism. Henderson's Entropy State describes the failures leading to this second vision.

The two visions described by Marien can be seen to correspond to the kind of society based upon the industrial paradigm, and that promoted by those exploring alternatives. Keep in mind, however, that these two visions represent extremes. The Conserver Society vision is not totally decentralist. Marien saw the liberal limits to growth position lying somewhere in between; employing much of ecological, post-materialistic rhetoric of the decentralists while maintaining the

assumptions of the service society. Marien's work provides a useful framework within which to view the issues of concern for advocates of a Conserver Society. For this reason particular attention will be given in the following pages to Marien's work.

The technological, affluent, service society can be seen as the extension and progression of the industrial paradigm into the future. This vision is held by most "respectable" scientists and serves as the ideology of the established order. Daniel Bell (1973) is frequently associated with this vision. Expression of this vision has been in neutral and passive tones. Any overt expression of values is over-shadowed by the sense that this vision is unquestionably associated with the unyielding path of development, for better or worse. The centralist vision does not question the direction society is taking; it is a simple prediction based on "more of the same" with no consideration of alternatives, or people having the power to shape future society. Advocates of the centralist vision express their views as objective forecasts and use various quantitative methodologies. They purport to possess greater credibility than decentralists, who speak openly of values and stress "alternatives" or "alternative futures" (Marien, 1977, p. 425).

Progress is described by centralists to be indicated by greater affluence, leisure, urbanization, state intervention, effective use of labour-saving technology and the growth of a new class of professional elites. In contrast, decentralists regard further industrialization as unworkable, GNP as an obsolete and misleading measure, the economy on the brink of collapse, state intervention as inept and onerous,

technocrats as ignorant of the real world and the good life as involving greater self-sufficiency.

In their attitudes toward technology centralists believe that the dispersion of technology into people's lives is inevitable. If it is the cause of problems, only new technology can solve them. Decentralists promote intermediate, small, appropriate, or convivial technologies which cost less and can be used and understood by most people.

The future for centralists includes the inevitability of bureaucracy, growing interdependence in the national and global community, and the impossibility of returning to a more agrarian society. Decentralists stress self-help and independence in small local communities and the necessity and desirability of returning to some degree to an agrarian society.

Centralists ignore decentralists or view them as nihilistic, romantic, anti-science, anti-progress, ineffective, utopian, and moralistic. Decentralists view their opponents as amoral technocrats, elitist experts, reductionists, middle-class welfare careerists and the tools of big government, big business and big labour.

The weaknesses and anomalies surrounding the technological, affluent, service society vision are many. Marien noted the major ones (1977, pp. 420-424). He found that except for Kahn et al. (1976), not a single author espousing this vision had considered the possibility of limited natural resources in their scenarios. Advocates of this vision have paid no attention to the balance between dependence and interdependence under conditions of scarcity or affluence. They

assumed that the only possible and desirable direction for the evolution of society is towards an ever-increasing portion of the labour force being engaged in providing services to consumers. The notion of the producer-consumer is obsolete.

The major developments noted by Marien (1977), Toffler (1981), Schrecker (1982), the Vanier Institute of the Family (1978; 1979) and others have been and still are overlooked by advocates of the post-industrial, affluent, technological, service society. These developments have been extolled by those promoting alternatives. Both have already been pointed out in Chapter II. One is the new ruralism - an increase of population in non-metropolitan areas. The other, and more important, is the growth of the household economy relative to the market economy.

There is a very good reason why proponents of the technological, affluent, service society have overlooked the rise in importance of the household economy. As Marien pointed out, this vision represents the ideology of the established order. It includes everyone dependent in one way or another upon institutions which operate within the industrial paradigm or with what Toffler called a "Second Wave" mentality. As described earlier, it is a function of development efforts based upon the industrial paradigm to create dependencies and centralize decision-making and control. It is, therefore, anti-thetical for any of society's institutions to accept, let alone permit, the proliferation of the household economy. For the ultimate extension of the decentralist vision, which includes the promotion of the household economy, means the undermining of the power of all

industrial institutions, including the nation-state. It is little wonder that the State does not encourage alternative initiatives through its policies and programs as noted by Solway (1976). The household economy cannot be easily taxed. It cannot be measured. It cannot be planned for. In other words it cannot be controlled. This is very threatening to the State and will be resisted. Toffler (1981) describes the rise of the "prosumer," although he does not adequately address the consequences of this rise upon the role of institutions, particularly government. The industrial concept of development tends to discredit individual or community efforts of self-sufficiency through the informal economy.

Development Alternatives

Starrs (1980) viewed the Conserver Society concept and community initiatives based upon it in the context of alternatives. This thesis agrees with Starrs' placement of the Conserver Society concept in that context due to the similarity and regularity with which key concepts prevail in the Conserver Society and other alternative initiatives. These key concepts will be reviewed later in this chapter.

The search for alternatives can be seen as one response to the crisis of modern society. There is very little in this world that is completely new and this can be said of alternatives. Although the present study is future-oriented, there is a need to recognize that current alternative initiatives share a number of historical links with past groups and individuals. Some of these links will be touched upon



before the characteristics of alternatives and a Conserver Society are explored in more detail.

The search for alternative models of social, political, and economic relations has been undertaken by many groups in the past. "A general characteristic of periods in which communes (and a search for alternatives) rise and flourish most vigorously is social and often political instability" (Carter, 1974, p. 2). Thus, the historical events of war, civil strife, or religious and ideological upheavals create conditions that emphasize the inadequacies of social structure. In the 19th century utopian communities sought refuge from the insecurities of industrialization or as with the Mennonites sought isolation to live in peace. Although there was a diversity of philosophies, social, economic and decision-making structures among these groups, the need and quest for community, and the desire to build a new social order, was common.

Capra (1982) looked at the current cultural crisis with its search for alternatives in a much broader perspective. He used a time span covering thousands of years. In addition, he changed the perspective from a notion of static social structures, rising and falling, to dynamic patterns of change overlapping, appearing, and disappearing over that time span.

In 1973, Solway studied "The Alternative in Canada." He identified that an alternative sub-culture existed which transcended all ethnic, regional and age group categories. Characteristics of this sub-culture were: doing more with less, doing more for yourself and doing more collectively. This sub-culture was found to be emerging in both rural

and urban settings. One significant consideration of Solway's study was that it addressed the legitimacy of alternatives. He concluded that alternatives were largely considered to be illegitimate and that government policy did not favour their development. However, Solway found one exception, unemployment insurance benefits. He discovered that unemployment insurance served as a subsidy for those moving out of the formal economy into the informal. It mitigated the shock going from an industrially-defined job with a wage to the more open definition of work and opportunities for self-sufficiency involving less cash. Solway naively recommended federal government policy changes to favour alternatives.

In the follow-up to his 1973 study, Solway (1976) found alternative efforts to be more numerous and strengthening. He concluded that worsening economic conditions were strengthening alternatives and would continue to do so. Most significant was his conclusion that the key to the alternative experience was learning that one could do it. From the groups of people he studied, he found that their satisfaction was derived from learning new skills, applying those skills to meaningful aspects of daily life and becoming aware that alternatives are feasible.

There appears to be a tendency among those studying alternatives to locate them in the context of communitarian communities. Works studying Canadian alternatives (Reddin and Clarke, 1978; Solway, 1973; 1976;) are indicative of this. Communitarian - that is, communist in the non-Marxist sense - communities include genuine folk communities, some planned "intentional," utopian, and non-traditional communities. All have been opposed to the perceived evils of *Gesellschaft* and

included the establishment of a locality-based alternative. Historically, these ventures have mostly been religious or sectarian communities from Europe such as the Hutterites and Doukhobors. There were intellectually designed communities, some based on "social science" principles, as early as 1880 (Bernard, 1973). There has been very little study of alternatives in Canada. Those studies that have been completed have not looked at the impact of alternatives from an overall systems perspective or as part of the process of cultural change.

A recent survey of alternatives in Canada was conducted by Cathy Starrs in 1979. This survey was a follow-up to her 1975 survey of Canadians in Conversation About the Future (1976) in which she studied the concept of a Conserver Society in relation to people's views of the future. The purpose of her 1979 study, Exploring Development Alternatives: Canada 1979 (1980), was to compile an inventory of initiatives and projects that were being, or could have been described as development alternatives and to interpret these activities and their implications for the future. This report provides abundant evidence of the breadth and diversity of Canadians' search for alternatives.

The survey portion of Starrs' study was sponsored by Environment Canada and an interpretive phase was undertaken for the International Foundation for Development Alternatives. The entire study was based upon a belief that there is considerable activity underway in Canada which suggests an alternative vision of development, one based upon a recognition of limits and the uncertainties confronting the physical

and social environment and consistent with opportunities being discovered and rediscovered by Canadians (p. 1).

The proposition of Starrs' study was that there are many projects and initiatives underway in Canada that stem from a diversity of understandings about the nature of present societal problems and about opportunities for the future. She illustrated, as does this thesis, that these initiatives are becoming an increasingly significant part of the Canadian social reality. Essentially these initiatives represent a fundamental shift in the dominant social paradigm. The new paradigm is leading to an alternative vision of development consistent with an understanding of the limits and discontinuities now confronting the physical and social environment. As a result, people are discovering and rediscovering strengths and opportunities for themselves through these alternatives.

Starrs' inventory was compiled in an innovative manner. She avoided defining development alternatives. Instead she and her study team contacted the concerned citizens who authored the conference report, Canada as a Conserver Society: An Agenda For Action (SCC, 1978). These people referred Starrs to others they thought were involved in what they considered to be alternative explorations. As little advance conceptualization, categorization and structure as possible was imposed upon the information received from people interviewed. This approach acknowledged that the act of categorizing is influenced by the cultural paradigm of the categorizer. "Categorizing reflects culturally-determined patterns of noticing and sorting and grouping" (Starrs, 1980, p. 5). Even the identification of

that which can be considered "alternative" is subject to the conforming influence of the conventional paradigm. Trying to make sense of alternatives means trying to fit them into the dominant paradigm. Although Starrs expressed reluctance to categorize for fear of limiting perceptions of what can be considered alternative, she accepted the need for some categorizing. She concluded that their objective "became one of understanding the context in which these activities were being seen by those engaging in them and of patterning them in such a way as to convey the impact of the whole" (p. 8).

From Starrs' survey one must conclude there is hardly an aspect of life that is not the subject of some initiative exploring different ways of doing things. She looked at development alternative initiatives in 11 general areas:

1. conserver society
2. conservation and recycling
3. alternative technological design
 - (a) energy (b) food (c) housing (d) transport
4. economic development
5. the cooperative movement
6. alternative lifestyle movement
7. alternative consultative processes
8. alternative institutional arrangements
 - (a) the workplace (b) health (c) learning/teaching (d) the formal legal system
9. alternative relationships: Canada and the Third World

10. societal reconstruction: alternatives to the "Industrial-Nation-State"

11. personal initiatives.

Over 100 different initiatives were inventoried. Where available, the inventory contains information on the purpose, history, perceptions, activities, structure and financial base of the initiative.

The inventory itself does not contain a description of the concept of development that inspires each initiative. However, from the parts of the inventory addressing purpose and perceptions, much can be inferred from the reported activities and structure. Fortunately, Starrs has provided an interpretation of her findings which directly addresses the concept of development implicitly or explicitly guiding these initiatives.

Rather than attempt to paraphrase what is already a succinct summary, the alternative concept of development Starrs found will be presented in direct quotes from the report. She observed:

Many themes were repeated time and again by those pointing to illustrations of development alternatives and by those describing the understandings motivating their activities. One heard repeated reference to the conservation of human and natural resources, to reducing excess consumption, waste, and damage to the life-supporting systems of nature, to decentralization and diversity, and to bringing into balance the material and the non-material aspects of human well-being. Also repeated were references to self-reliance, to cooperative ways of living in the world, to the need to enhance community and institutional responsibility and response-ability, and to the design of technologies - tools and institutions - in ways that are more human-scaled, holistic, and ecological (Starrs, 1980, p. 124).

Among the chief characteristics of this alternative concept of development are:

1. respect for human qualities and capacities and for all life-supporting systems on the planet;
2. acceptance of diversity - the diversity of the human species, of cultures, of different ways of perceiving reality, and of the variety necessary to sustain a healthy society and a healthy environment;
3. a recognition of and respect for limits, the limits of nature, of social institutions, and of social structure;
4. a recognition that material prosperity, without attention to these limits, can lead to impoverishment;
5. a concern for the non-material needs required to support human well-being;
6. an unwillingness, at the first instance, to accept without question the notion of trade-offs so ingrained in the industrial paradigm's notion of development (e.g., inflation/employment, economic growth/environmental degradation, producer interests/consumer interests);
7. a concern to liberate time spent in the production-consumption cycle so as to live lifestyles that are more freeing of persons-in-community;
8. a preference for non-hierarchical relationships, allowing the replacement of competition for position by cooperation for achievement in seeking excellence; and, above all,

9. the fostering of personal and institutional responsibility and response-ability, of self-reliance, and interdependence rather than rugged individualism and independence (Starrs, 1980, pp. 126-127).

Differences in the time-space orientations of the industrial paradigm and development alternatives were identified by Starrs. The conventional concept of development is tuned to the here and now with the future seen as a projection of the present. The future is, therefore, known and capable of being planned for with certainty. The alternative paradigm is concerned with preserving the best of past heritage, and sees the future as uncertain and surprise-full (Starrs, 1980). It recognizes the responsibility for stewarding for future generations.

In terms of space the nation-state and its trading partners has formed the perspective of the industrial paradigm. The alternative recognizes global interdependence as well as the finiteness of the planet and its biosphere. Thus it incorporates the notions associated with the labels of the global village, spaceship earth and the planetary.

The alternative concept does not imply the rejection of technology, but its utilization for the achievement of human goals, and the use of technology in ways that avoid its negative impacts. Community processes and informal arrangements are preferred where appropriate rather than relying upon institutional means.

Starrs' work is good companion reading to Robertson (1978). He described the paradigm shift around six themes: knowledge and

learning; power and public service; wealth and work; teaching and healing; welfare and care; and religious ministry and spiritual communion. Robertson provided advice on the kind of practical activities that groups would have to undertake to facilitate a transformation to a Sane, Human, and Ecological (SHE) future. In so doing he posits some 14 different roles that need to be played in simultaneous interaction if a sustainable post-industrial society is to be created. Initiatives in all of these roles can be found in Starrs' inventory (1980).

The proliferation of development alternatives has not been exclusive to Canada. The evolution of development alternatives is being inspired and assisted by the International Foundation for Development Alternatives (IFDA) in Nyon, Switzerland. The analysis of Starrs' survey findings was completed with the support of the IFDA. IFDA is exploring development alternatives in both the industrialized nations and in less-developed nations. Its view of development is closely related to the objectives of the New International Economic Order (Tinbergen, Dolman, and van Ettinger, 1976). Proponents of both have undertaken a fundamental redefinition of the concept of development.

Who are involved in development alternatives? Schumacher (1974) described those who sought what they considered more meaningful ways of life as "homecomers." They were mostly the young people of the 1960's and 1970's who sought meaning by dropping out of society. More recently, Solway (1973; 1976) and Starrs (1980) found that those exploring development alternatives are from a diversity of fields and a

variety of roles. They include youth, senior citizens, environmentalists, blue and white collar workers, people in government, people in small businesses, city dwellers and people in isolated hinterland communities. Starrs observed that people involved in development alternatives cannot be considered to be aligned only with environmental concerns. Significant to this study was her conclusion that not everyone concerned about environmental issues can also be considered advocates of development alternatives.

Marien (1977) described the characteristics of those involved in promoting the decentralist vision of post-industrial society. Some of these characteristics also describe those involved in alternative initiatives. These people often see government assistance as inept or corrupting. They tend to be apolitical rather than press demands on government or engage in policy debates. Many lack credentials and the conceptual tools to debate with technocratic elites. As a result they are generally ineffective in presenting their arguments. This ineffectiveness relates to Marien's observation that they tend to be involved in small organizations, not enough in large institutions. They tend to be excessively romantic about a return to an agrarian communitarian life of independence. The industrial paradigm vision of a service society is not seen as romantic. This is because the service society is issued by "experts" in a sober style.

Advocates of a technological service society, in contrast, have a strong political voice (Marien, 1977). They are well-established in the academic world and think-tanks. They are scientific, expert. These people and their institutions are accepted as the authoritarian

voice on visions of the future and use an array of the industrial paradigm's features to be convincing.

In contrasting two visions of post-industrial society, the affluent, technological service society and the decentralized ecologically conscious society, Marien (1976; 1977) delineated who held each position. The latter, he said, is often held by those who have an intellectual background in the humanities and are often joined by ecologists. The former view is held by virtually all social scientists, a few Marxist historians and social reformers. He speculated, without survey data, that there would probably be little correlation with social class and income, but a strong correlation with location, urban or rural, and with the degree of affiliation with large institutions.

Political Nature of Alternatives

It is becoming clear that traditional political ideologies do not help explain or resolve the complex problems now challenging the world. In a most confusing manner, the Left at times appears conservative and the Right, radical. Labour unions, for example, have traditionally been left of centre. However, their commitment to growth, large-scale organizations, protecting the jobs of their members, and trying to ensure that their workers do not bear the costs of environmental protection and automation, is resulting in their opposition to some very liberating alternatives in the workplace. This was noticed by Toffler (1981, p. 15) when he pointed out that unions

are joining with employers, despite their differences, to fight environmentalists. This behaviour, Toffler says, is a result of the collision between his Second and Third Wave societies. Unions and employers can be seen as part of the centralizing industrial Second Wave mentality and environmentalists part of the Third Wave.

Traditional political philosophy and analysis do not help describe the nature of development alternatives described here. Alternative initiatives are essentially decentralizing by nature. They conflict with the affluent, technological, service vision of post-industrial society which is centralist.

The debate between the centralist-decentralist visions of the future cannot be understood in the framework of the left-right analysis. Illich (1973, p. xi) noted that present ideologies are only useful to reveal the contradictions in a society which relies upon capitalist control of industrial production. They do not provide the necessary framework for analyzing the crisis of industrialization itself. In this regard, Marien said:

We have all been conditioned to array socio-economic preferences along a left-right, liberal-conservative (or radical-liberal-conservative) political axis. And it is certainly true that much of the debate in this century has been along this axis, between labour and capital, and between government control and laissez-faire.

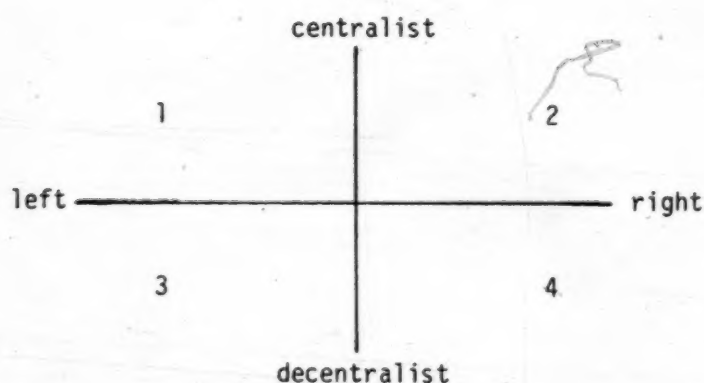
But there is another axis which was dominant long ago in the United States in the form of a debate between Jefferson and Hamilton as to whether we should have an essentially agrarian society with minimal government, or a managed society that would encourage commercial enterprise. The axis is best understood as a separate continuum that is at right angles to the conventional

left-right continuum. It is contended here that the Jefferson-Hamilton debate is reappearing in this new era on a global basis and that it may be the dominant political debate of our time (1977, p. 6).

The two continua Marien describes would look like Figure 2.

Figure 2

Political Axes of Traditional and New Paradigm Politics



Such a diagram suggests four quadrants: (1) left-centralist, (2) right-centralist, (3) left-decentralist and (4) right-decentralist. It is true that the quadrants bring the debate back into the left-right spectrum, but the emphasis is on the centralist-decentralist axis. In any case the left-right axis cannot simply be ignored. It must be taken into account in some way.

Satin (1978) criticized liberalism and Marxism, capitalism and socialism. This does not mean that he had to be a right-wing

reactionary. He admitted to having been a liberal who turned to Marxism during the turbulent 1960's, but came to find it wanting because of its view of Man as an economic being and its emphasis on centralism. These features did not help Satin explain or resolve the problems he saw facing the world. In an attempt to move beyond liberalism and Marxism, Satin synthesized the ideas of a number of decentralist thinkers into what he called New Age Politics. Satin visualized New Age Politics to be highly decentralized. In contrast, others like Illich (1973), Schumacher (1974), Marien (1976; 1977) and Toffler (1981) suggest that more of a synthesis or balance between centralism and decentralism would be desirable.

Satin considered both Marxists and liberals to be essentially centralist in nature. He would place both Marxists and liberals in the upper or centralist half of Figure 2. Toffler (1981) agreed with Satin. All industrial or Second Wave societies, whether capitalist or socialist, are essentially centralist (Toffler, 1981, p. 57).

There is a danger that decentralist thinking might be dismissed as right-wing. Starrs (1980) noted that some of the themes she found in her survey of development alternatives also underlie pronouncements of the Right. Pre-World War II decentralist thinking was aligned with the Right (Marien, 1977). Yet modern decentralist writers like Schumacher (1974), Satin (1977) and Illich (1973) lean politically to the left. At the same time they are not compatible with the centralizing left of Marxism.

There is a crucial difference between left and right decentralists. Right decentralists look wistfully back to a romantic

image of an era of free enterprise. Left decentralists look with optimism past the crises of industrial society to a decentralized, human-scale, ecologically sound, cooperative New Age. Decentralists are critical of industrialization in both capitalistic and socialistic forms. Marien (1977) believed that because the decentralist view does not fit into the political taxonomy of left-right, liberal-conservative, it has not been given fair consideration.

The decentralization of political power promoted by development alternatives has great implications for the concept of the nation-state. Those promoting alternatives see the nation-state to be an ineffective unit of government. It is too big for the problems of local people and it is limited by concepts too narrow for the problems of global interdependence. Capra (1982, p. 398), like many others, pointed out that the highly centralized national governments are unable to act locally or think globally.

The decline of the nation-state concept can be seen to correspond to the decline of industrialization. Toffler (1981) described the idea of the nation-state to be a product of industrialized Second Wave societies. A single integrated economy made sense in a world of independent trading partners who could manage and plan for production within their borders. This control is lost in an interdependent post-industrial world.

The pre-eminence of the nation-state has been lessened by a number of forces. In a global context, the awareness revolution, global interdependence and global accountability all serve to question the effectiveness of the nation-state from the perspective of the world

community. Transnational corporations, multilateral functional agencies, the United Nations system, regional coordinating and integrating bodies and non-governmental organizations have all served to increase the complexity of the situation with which nation-states have to deal. They have, in effect, reduced the exclusiveness and absoluteness of the control of the nation-state over their resources, populations, territories, and economies.

Satin (1978, pp. 20-21) talked about people's natural loyalty to and identification with their local community. He pointed out that nationalism is an artificial construct that has been forced upon people through historical circumstances. In Satin's New Age, nation-states would no longer exist. Local communities would be responsible for the functions formerly served by nation-states. New Age localism does not imply that human-scale communities need to be isolated from each other or the world at large. They would be capable of thinking globally. This notion of extreme decentralization indicates the extent to which the idea of decentralization can be taken.

The framework of centralist and decentralist is useful in describing alternative efforts. Ideologically alternatives are outside of the industrial paradigm and by their nature remain outside. Capra (1982, p. 418) noted that traditional political analysis, including right and left, is part of the declining culture. If alternatives can be seen to be consistent with Capra's description of the emerging paradigm, which forms what he calls the "Solar Age," then alternatives will always remain incongruent with existing institutions and political

thought, until these decline and alternatives eventually take over leading roles in the new culture.

The "Hard" Path Versus the "Soft" Path

The dichotomy of the conventional industrial paradigm's approach to development and that of the alternative paradigm is sometimes expressed in terms of the "hard" path and the "soft" path. These two concepts emerged out of the study of strategies of energy resource development. In that context they are known as the hard energy path and the soft energy path (Lovins, 1977). They have since come to be used to refer to clusters of concepts associated with two opposing development directions representing the choice of futures western societies have to make.

Amory Lovins (1977; 1979a and b) is a well-known advocate of the soft path. He is not typical of decentralists described by Marien (1977). Having credentials as a physicist, Lovins has embarked upon policy debates with government officials and has many academic publications on the subject to his credit. He has also long been associated with Friends of the Earth in the United States and internationally.

Lovins introduced the energy debate as a focal point for the debate between two opposing views of development and as a catalyst for understanding and bridging from the present to the future. He wrote:

the policy questions that the soft path makes so prominent raise more basic structural and philosophical questions that we can neither answer definitively nor ignore: questions of the personal values within which, and the social ends for which energy is sought (1977, p. 161).

As Lovins views it, and many Canadians too, the choice of Canada's energy future is a choice about what kind of society and what kind of development is desired. The notions of a "hard" and "soft" path, in addition to being words which suggest images, provide a conceptual framework for the different social and political configurations generated by the industrial paradigm and the alternative. Table 1 lists the contrasting characteristics of both development paths. Essentially, the focus upon energy that Lovins takes in analyzing the two development paths is useful because it draws attention to the tension between the competing value systems of two paradigms which underlie energy demand and use.

In addressing energy resource development, Lovins (1977) introduced the approach of considering renewable energy as energy income and non-renewables as energy capital. In so doing he clarified the imbalance in the accounting system of modern economic models. The trade-offs, conversion costs, and capital investments in energy generation and distribution systems are all considered by Lovins.

The soft energy path is defined by a variety of interrelated characteristics (Brooks and Paehlke, 1980; Lovins 1977; 1979a; 1979b). It seeks to maintain energy demand within the bounds that can be supplied by renewable energy flows that are always there whether they

Table 1

Characteristics of Hard Versus Soft Path of DevelopmentThe Hard Path

Ecologically unsound
 Large energy input
 High pollution rate
 Non-reversible use of materials
 and energy sources
 Functional for limited time only
 Mass production
 High specialization
 Nuclear family
 Urban emphasis
 Alienation from nature
 Democratic politics
 Technical boundaries set by wealth
 World-wide integrated economy
 Destructive of local culture
 Technology liable to misuse
 Highly destructive to other
 species
 Innovation regulated by profit and
 war
 Growth-oriented economy
 Capital-intensive
 Large scale
 Alienates young and old
 Centralist
 General efficiency increases with
 size
 Operating modes too complicated
 for general comprehension
 Technological accidents frequent
 and serious
 Singular solutions to technical
 and social problems
 Agricultural emphasis on mono-
 culture
 Quantity criteria highly valued
 Food production a specialized
 industry
 Work undertaken primarily for
 income
 Small units totally dependent on
 others

The Soft Path

Ecologically sound
 Small energy input
 Low or no pollution rate
 Reversible use of materials and
 energy sources
 Functional for all time
 Craft industry
 Low specialization
 Communal units
 Rural emphasis
 Integration with nature
 Consensus politics
 Technical boundaries set by nature
 Local informal economy
 Compatible with local culture
 Safeguards against misuse
 Depends on well-being of other
 species
 Innovation regulated by need
 Steady-state economy
 Labour-intensive
 Appropriate scale
 Integrates young and old
 Decentralist
 General efficiency increases with
 smallness
 Operating modes understandable by
 all
 Technological accidents few and
 unimportant
 Diverse solutions to technical and
 social problems
 Agricultural emphasis on diversity
 Quality criteria highly valued
 Food production shared by all
 Work undertaken primarily for
 satisfaction
 Small units self-sufficient

Table 1
(continued)

The Hard Path

Science and technology alienated
from culture
Science and technology performed
by special elites
Strong work/leisure distinction
High unemployment
Technical goals valid for only a
small proportion of the globe
for a finite time

The Soft Path

Science and technology integrated
with culture
Science and technology performed
by all
Weak or non-existent work/leisure
distinction
Concept of unemployment not valid
Technical goals valid for all
people for all time

Note: Adapted from "Characteristics of 'Hard' versus 'Soft' Technologies" reprinted in World Issues Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 10, December/January 1976/1977 from Robin Clarke, "Biotechnical Research and Development," Britain.

are used or not. These include sources such as sun, wind, or vegetation. Thus the soft energy path relies upon energy income, not on depletable energy capital. The soft energy path involves the deployment of diverse sources so that energy supply is an aggregate of very many individually modest contributions. These diverse sources are flexible and involve relatively low technology. This does not mean unsophisticated, but rather easy to understand, accessible, and does not depend upon the exclusive skills of experts. As such it is relatively easily controlled politically. The soft energy path is committed to efficient energy use so that the technologies are matched in scale, in quality, and in geographic distribution to end use needs, taking advantage of the free distribution of most natural energy flows. A long-term perspective is taken by the soft energy path in that it looks at energy use for 35 to 75 years and in so doing is considered a permanent solution to the energy crisis. The goals of a soft energy path are a sustainable economy, a healthy environment, and a more decentralized pattern of decision-making. It is therefore considered liberating, participatory, appropriate to the circumstances, and to promote self-sufficiency.

In contrast to the soft energy path is the hard energy path. The hard energy path means continued high levels of consumption of non-renewable energy supplies. Growing demand is accepted and justified as indicative of rising standards of living and progress. To meet this growing demand large investments in frontier oil and gas, nuclear power and other non-renewable sources is required. Hard energy path energy projects are capital intensive, technically complex and

conducive to further centralization of economic and political decision-making. Since the energy sources are non-renewable a continuing cycle is created, constantly demanding new technologies and more capital.

Brooks and Paehlke (1980) argued that the soft path is both desirable and necessary for Canada, but the barriers to following it are enormous. They noted the existence of competing pressures on official and semi-official energy planners and no organized constituency for energy conservation or renewables. The largest economic organizations in Canada, and the world, are committed to the hard path for economic self-interest. There is no force of economic self-interest lobbying for renewables. Moreover, the federal and provincial government bureaucracies, in seeking simplification and certainty, are disinclined to processing large numbers of small requests by citizens when it can be claimed by a small number of large-scale supplicants (e.g., oil companies and provincial utilities) that they can achieve the same end. These barriers to following the soft energy path confirm Marien's observations about the fragmented political nature of alternatives (1977).

As the hard and soft energy paths illustrate, there is clearly a deep-rooted incompatibility in the two paradigms which prevents decentralists from achieving their goals within the social structures and institutions of the dominant systems. What appears to happen is that decentralists dismiss the centralists and pursue their lifestyles independent of the mainstream. This withdrawal itself, whether by choice or by force (e.g., lack of work, meaningful health care,

education, etc.), has the effect of making the conventional structures and institutions more and more irrelevant. In this way, the erosion of the industrial paradigm can be seen to happen as an independent and silent process. Capra (1982) described the process of paradigm shift in this same manner. Try as they might to build in adjustments - be it citizen participation in local government, institutional "outreach," or a semblance of decentralization of service delivery - most institutions are too strongly rooted in the industrial paradigm to accommodate the needs of decentralists.

Appropriate Technology

The soft energy path and the soft path to development are only possible with a careful assessment of the appropriateness of any technology being applied in the development process. Appropriate technology is a central component in a Conserver Society and other alternative development initiatives. It complements other aspects of alternative development by providing a guiding perspective for the use of technology. Options for self-sufficiency, for decentralized decision-making, community control and encouraging a sense of community are some of the themes of alternatives supported by appropriate technology.

The words appropriate and intermediate technology are used interchangeably. Intermediate technology was made popular by Schumacher (1974). It is one of the mechanisms by which small can be beautiful. He described intermediate technology as "technology of

production by the masses, making use of the best of modern knowledge and experience, conducive to decentralization, compatible with the laws of ecology, gentle in its use of scarce resources, and designed to serve the human person instead of making him the servant of machines" (p. 128). Intermediate technology, as thus described, arose as a reaction to the obsession and dominance of one kind of technology - the centralizing, capital-intensive, and labour-eliminating kind.

Many others have followed Schumacher in studying the role of technology in development. These have included McCallum (1977), Jackson (1980a), Mitchell (1980) and McRobie (1981). They noted that the introduction of new technologies in the development process often overlooks existing social, economic, political, and physical resources.

The essence of the concept of appropriate technology is that technology is appropriate if it is compatible with the definition of development of those applying the technology and those for whom development is supposed to benefit. This includes the extent to which the local people have control over the technology and how well it integrates with the existing social, economic, political and physical environments. It is in the area of compatibility that appropriate technology can be viewed as a challenge to traditional development practices where there is often an incongruity in the values underlying notions of development between the developed and less developed.

Appropriate technology has always had trouble with definition because sometimes large-scale, high-capital-cost technology is deemed appropriate. Howes (1979), while being critical of advocates of appropriate technology, pointed out there will always be a need for

both sophisticated and intermediate technology in a society. Again, the circumstances of application ultimately determine the appropriateness of any kind of technology. It is this emphasis on custom-made (i.e., sensitive to diversity) as opposed to off-the-rack (i.e., conform to the standard) which is the message of appropriate technology.

Understanding the role of technology within the culture of a society is critical to an understanding of the significance of appropriate technology. Technology is the means by which humanity interacts with the environment. It includes not only the means of production - the hardware of machinery, computers, etc. - but also the ideas and inventiveness, the norms and values which create the hardware, organize and direct the productive system (Gagne, 1976, p. 9; Valaskakis et al., 1979, p. 42). Attitudes surrounding modern technology arose out of changes in philosophical and scientific thought in which the view of Nature came to be that of a resource to be exploited for material gain through rational methods.

Those involved in alternatives often view Man's relationship with Nature to be symbiotic rather than exploitive. Therefore, they do not share the same values associated with technology as advocates of the affluent, technological, service society. For example, applications of technology which do damage to the environment are in all cases inappropriate for advocates of alternative initiatives but often acceptable as trade-offs for adherents of the industrial paradigm.

There are three broad contexts in which the appropriateness of technology is considered. One has to do with a consideration of its

compatibility with the established values, way of life and structures which might favour its adoption. Another has to do with the technology's capability of sustaining improvements for the human situation in the present and future. A third consideration has to do with the technology's capability of producing profound economic and social structural change that will benefit the majority of people. This third context relates to the power of technology in a liberation/freedom context. These contexts will be discussed in the following pages.

The appropriateness of a technology is usually first considered in terms of how simple, safe and cheap its application will be. It may be inappropriate because it is more costly or less efficient than other ways of doing the same thing. This can include ecological or environmental costs, or other costs that cost/benefit analysis has deliberately avoided by considering them as trade-offs. More and more it is being learned that these trade-offs diminish the sense of improvement for the human situation in the present and threaten human existence in the future.

Appropriate technology has acquired meaning mostly in the context of cross-cultural transfers. In that context it is often obvious that a technology developed in one culture is inappropriate in another. It is not only between nations that such cross-cultural transfers occur, but also within nations, including the developed nations. In the developed nations, discussions surrounding appropriate technology tend to reveal class struggles and cultural and regional disparities. Some technologies, in energy for example, are seen to create institutional power and exclusion in alienating people, in the Marxist sense, from

power. In this way appropriate technologies are defined as accessible, non-exclusive, low-capital, decentralist, and liberating. It is because of these characteristics that appropriate technologies take a great value in being liberating for those aspiring to the alternative. Political and economic liberation through appropriate technology, in both developed and less developed countries, thus tends to be associated with a variety of technologies such as windmills, solar panels, bio-gas generators, simple tools, etc.

Those involved in promoting development alternatives, which includes the Conserver Society, have identified appropriate technology as a key feature in their vision of society. In a variation of the definition they have added to it their concern for social and environmental sustainability. In doing so it has come to be described as energy-efficient and non-wasteful, and utilizing renewable rather than non-renewable energy sources as much as possible. It is in harmony with the eco-system, environmentally appropriate and non-pollutant. It uses locally available materials and resources and encourages self-sufficiency. It is labour-intensive rather than capital-intensive; thus it does not require that one be wealthy in order to use it. It is considered to be decentralized and community-based. People living within the community own it, understand it, and control it. Such technology is appropriate then, for human beings, the natural eco-system, and the revitalization of communities.

The application of appropriate technology is clearly becoming widespread in developed countries (Jackson, 1980a; McRobie, 1981). Jackson (1980a) looked at numerous examples in the provinces of Prince

Edward Island and Newfoundland, and the case of Sudbury 2001 - a community group looking at alternatives to declining industrial employment in Sudbury, Ontario. Both McRobie and Jackson observed that applications and preferences for appropriate technology are generally not being encouraged by governments, big business or other institutions. Instead it is leaderless in its application, being unorganized, diverse, and dispersed throughout communities. This is consistent with the character of alternatives.

Political pronouncements regarding the social function of and values surrounding technology, are still strongly on the side of the affluent, technological, service vision of post-industrial society. At the same time, it has become clear that only large companies or big governments can afford to create industrial workplaces. To many people, particularly the growing number of unemployed, that vision is appearing unattractive and unfeasible. In such a context appropriate technology becomes a meaningful concept to those who see they must pay the price for the affluence of others. These sentiments were conveyed by Jackson (1980a) in his discussion of the significance of appropriate technology in Canada. Jackson concluded that the application of appropriate technology is necessary to Canada's future and that it will involve profound social and cultural changes that cannot be realized overnight.

Self-Sufficiency

The use of appropriate technology is one of the means by which self-sufficiency is achieved in a Conserver Society and in other alternative initiatives. In this context it takes on a meaning different from that which it has traditionally had in industrial societies. While recognizing people's interdependence, alternatives place great value on aspects of one's lifestyle which contribute to any degree of self-sufficiency. This implies trying to make the best use of what is available locally and trying to reduce dependence on outside sources - even sources outside the household. Appropriate technologies are the means by which local self-reliance and the use of local resources can be achieved. Self-sufficiency thus becomes a relative concept in alternatives.

In aspects of production, consumption, the provision of services and the decision-making surrounding these, self-sufficiency attacks centres of power and control. Self-sufficiency thus becomes indirectly connected to decentralization. Both can be seen to be components of the same process - a process facilitated by the application of appropriate technology. The discussion in the following pages provides an explanation of this process.

Although the rhetoric often sounds the same, the meaning of self-sufficiency for alternatives is radically different from the industrial paradigm's concept of self-sufficiency. In fact the two are in such opposition that self-sufficiency taken to an extreme by alternatives can be seen to undermine the industrial system. For

example, self-sufficiency through work, as defined by those involved in alternatives and industrial society can be compared. The former is seen to be liberating (Robertson, 1978). It offers some sense of purity when it involves food production because the producer/consumer is at least aware of the inputs introduced into the growth process. In an often synthetic environment, even the smallest effort at self-sufficiency in meeting one's basic needs brings one closer to Nature. There are also obviously financial pay-offs from efforts of self-sufficiency. Often people will resort to planting a kitchen garden, heating with locally available biomass, or getting involved in do-it-yourself efforts, because they cannot afford engaging themselves in the formal economy for these goods or services. This is why the Vanier Institute for the Family (1978; 1979) has promoted self-sufficiency through the informal economy as a solution to structural unemployment. The diversity of inputs into the individual's support system is seen to be stronger and more resilient than reliance upon one institution for sustenance.

It is becoming clear that self-sufficiency through the industrial concept of work is no longer available for all those who seek it as their means of self-support. There are also people who are rejecting the limitations they see inherent in the industrial notion of work. They are lobbying to have changes made in the institutional workplace to allow for diverse arrangements as well as to have changes made which accept the social and economic contribution of those hitherto not considered as contributors. There are the examples of job-sharing, permanent part-time, flextime, compressed work week and a shorter work

week. Robertson (1978) and Toffler (1981) described the diversity of options for work and fulfillment not yet recognized. There have also been moves to recognize the contributions of homemakers by providing employment benefits such as Canada Pension. The traditional concept of work is, therefore, no longer acceptable, meaningful or possible.

Taking to the extreme the move to capital-intensive mechanization and automation, which is pushed by adherents of the vision of a post-industrial, affluent technological service society, then almost all material production and many services would be completely automated. A small number of maintenance people would earn wages in the automated sector. What would the rest of the society do for income to exchange for the output of the machines? Even conspicuous leisure involves money. As advanced industrial countries increasingly face structural unemployment, governments have been forced to redistribute the purchasing power to those freed up by automation through government employment, welfare payments, and make-work projects as was discussed in Chapter II.

There are serious questions as to whether there is or will be an adequate tax base for the State to support the growing numbers of unemployed persons in Canada. There are two additional threats which the affluent, technological service society may impose. These were described by Jackson (1980a). Evidence of these threats exists today.

The first threat to fulfillment of this scenario is that people feel badly about taking money or goods for which they have done nothing in exchange, or for which they have put in time at a job they know to be non-essential. It was described in Chapter II how this kind of

support by the State creates dependencies and prevents people and communities from having to face the real consequences of their situation.

The second, more important and long-term problem with this approach relates to the Buddhist concept of right livelihood (Schumacher, 1974). This recognizes that work or livelihood is not just a way of gaining income but it is essential for a feeling of self-worth, for being a useful member of society, for self-development, for expressing help for others, even for happiness. This suggests that the problems of living a life of post-industrial affluence and indolence, in accepting free goods or a guaranteed annual income as a right of citizenship, go deeper than psychological adjustment." The appearance of discontent, frustration, groups of the unemployed, artful dodging, and manipulation of welfare programs are more than transitory symptoms of adaptation. There is a real need for people to feel they are engaged in the right livelihood; they may eventually reject the centralist response of make-work or incentive grants for big business to create more workplaces. Recently formed groups of the unemployed appear motivated by these considerations.

Against the faults of the vision of post-industrial society being affluent, technology, and service oriented, it becomes clearer what the other face of appropriate technology would offer toward self-sufficiency. It allows for a portion of the economy that would be predominantly locally organized, providing for many basic needs efficiently. It would provide for more decentralized decision-making when it comes to determining worth-while projects. In this sense it

would provide a platform from which self-propelled development could arise. It would also provide opportunities for those displaced from or exhausted by the mainstream production/service system. It would thus offer society resilience against economic collapse. These strengths have been articulated by those who have recently studied appropriate technology (Jackson, 1980a; McRobie, 1981), by those who see it in the context of an informal economy (Bookchin, 1971; Robertson, 1978; VIF, 1978), and those who have studied it within the general context of development alternatives (Starrs, 1980; Stinson, 1978).

The movement toward greater self-sufficiency should not be confused with the survivalist movement. Survivalists generally base their efforts on individual protection and security for the event of predicted social or environmental catastrophe. They seek isolation or privatization while those who desire greater self-sufficiency seek engagement and cooperation in community.

Solway (1973; 1976) and Reddin and Clarke (1978) found that early efforts at self-sufficiency were characterized by ideas of dropping-out of society or escaping, similar to present-day survivalists. The homecomers that Reddin and Clarke studied moved from an isolationist independence in their early efforts toward self-sufficiency to a more outward-looking interdependence with others in their geographic community through neighbourliness, and with other alternative groups through networking.

A long-time advocate of self-sufficiency is Murray Bookchin (1974; 1975). He relates people's drives for self-sufficiency to their rejection of the dependency created by large, centralized,

bureaucratized institutions. When people become more self-sufficient in meeting their basic needs they gain a sense of power over their lives - power which has been lost through the proliferation of industrialization. Bookchin's concept of self-sufficiency describes much of the rationale found among those exploring development alternatives which have since come to include efforts of self-care and self-help. From a similar perspective, Marien (1977) described the rise of the household economy and Toffler (1981) referred to the rise of the prosumer in describing the move toward greater self-sufficiency in his "Third Wave" society.

All these points about self-sufficiency were touched upon in a conference on Employment in a Conserver Society sponsored by the National Survival Institute in May of 1978. In a Conserver Society, the conference concluded, there will be less need for dollar income as people do more for themselves, and with the help of relatives, neighbours, friends, and community. Participants saw self-sufficiency at the national level to be centrally controlled, tending to increase inequities between regions, and encourage policies that do not lead to conservation. In contrast, they viewed self-sufficiency at the regional or community level leading more toward a Conserver Society by encouraging lower resource throughput, reuse of waste materials, and smaller, labour-intensive production units which would yield locally consumed goods and services. Although the conference did not deal with evidence to substantiate its prediction that a Conserver Society will result in more work, it is significant in that most of the themes of

alternative development described by Starrs (1980) arose in the context of a conference on work and a Conserver Society.

The sense of self-sufficiency entailed in alternatives implies a much deeper kind of self-sufficiency. It includes confidence in one's abilities, a sharing with and reliance upon one's community, and a greater sense of control over one's day-to-day activities.

Definition of a Conserver Society

It is within the context of development alternatives that one finds discussion and efforts of those promoting a Conserver Society. All of the characteristics of development alternatives can be found in descriptions of the Conserver Society. A Conserver Society is decentralist; it includes the soft energy path and the soft path to development; it promotes self-sufficiency and self-help at the community and individual level; and it is concerned with the appropriateness of technology. This section will focus more upon some of the issues that have been raised relating specifically to the Conserver Society concept.

GAMMA's four-volume Conserver Society Project (1976a, 1976b, 1976c, 1976d) remains the most extensive and comprehensive study of the concept. This project began in 1974 when the federal government of Canada commissioned the GAMMA group (Groupe associé Montréal-McGill pour l'étude de l'avenir), an interuniversity research group of McGill University and the Université de Montréal, to define the Conserver Society and to study its implications so that the idea could eventually

be translated into public policy. Fourteen federal government departments expressed interest in the outcome of the project.

The group's task was completed in two stages. The work done in Phase I (November 1974 to July 1975) resulted in the development of nine provisional models of a Conserver Society based on three approaches to conservation. These three approaches formed the basis for research in Phase II. The results of the work done in Phase II were published in the four-volume Conserver Society Project in July of 1976. These publications compiled the technical papers written by representatives of various disciplines enlisted to study the concept from their perspective.

Volume I of the Conserver Society Project is entitled The Selective Conserver Society. It is the integrating volume which summarizes the empirical and speculative information of the technical papers in the other three volumes. It presents the conclusions and recommendations of those studies as well. A more popular version appeared, The Conserver Society (Valaskakis et al., 1979), which summarized the results of the Conserver Society Project. The following sections of this thesis, in describing the characteristics of the Conserver Society and the notion of limits to throughput, relies heavily upon the work of GAMMA.

Meaning of Conservation

The notion of conservation is the backbone of the Conserver Society concept. Conservation is defined by GAMMA (1976a, p. 18) as the

process of prolonging, either by preserving or by using-and-recycling, the useful life of resources. Webster defines conservation as "preserving, guarding, or protecting: a keeping in a safe or entire state." GAMMA's definition includes a time preference not found in Webster. The time element is important because it is from a psychological comparison of present against future consumption that a decision to conserve or not to conserve is made.

Some believe that conservation means making do with less. Viewed from another angle it can also mean doing more with less. This can be the result of a more efficient use of resources so that which is conserved can be used later. For others, conservation can mean doing less with less. Wilderness conservation is commonly understood in these terms. This kind of conservation is not innovative. It is perservative. It is the arresting the anti-conservation behaviours without much thought. In the ideal Conserver Society described by GAMMA, conservation is a means to an end, not an end in itself. The end is human fulfillment in harmony with Nature.

The Consumer Society

The concept of a Conserver Society arises in a context of high emphasis on production and consumption, carried past the point of need - from what has come to commonly be called the consumer society. The labels of consumer society or mass consumption society are generally used to refer to the kind of society which is created by the industrial paradigm. Behaviour based upon the values and beliefs of the

industrial paradigm is seen to be distinguishable among people and institutions. The consumer society contrasts and conflicts with much of the kind of behaviour seen desirable and necessary for a sustainable future. The designation of consumer society is used to describe the dominant nature of western nations. Those who are involved in promoting a Conserver Society tend to refer to the consumer society in a pejorative sense.

Most of the literature tracing the origins of the characteristics of the current culture manifested in the consumer society goes back as far as the industrial revolution. One exception, Capra (1982), used a much broader perspective going back thousands of years. Jackson (1980b) thought the consumer society to be a relatively recent phenomena. He offered six reasons for the development of the consumption ethos associated with the industrial paradigm (p. 328). First, the opening of the North American continent 200-300 years ago witnessed people seeing its resources inexhaustible and its environment unpollutable due to the apparent vastness of the continent. He related the expansion of the frontier to the emergence of ideas associated with what Kenneth Boulding called cowboy economics. Second, the industrial revolution resulted in the quest for raw materials upon which it depended. More recently there has been the influence of Keynesian economics which held that the secret of a healthy industrial economy was to keep demand high, even if done artificially. A fourth reason may be connected to the attitudes of survivors of the Great Depression. Jackson suggested their vow of "never again" has resulted in their continual quest for security through acquisition. A fifth

reason relates to the ethos of industrialization which in turn is related to the Judeo-Christian belief in Man's domination over Nature identified in Chapter II. Finally, Jackson suggested that the consumer society may simply be a result of human nature in that Man has a tendency to push to the limits.

The points listed by Jackson have merit but largely relate to historical events. Only the last two suggest the consumer society is part of western cultural evolution. The consumer ethos and the rise of the Conserver Society concept as part of a shift in paradigms can best be understood in terms of the cultural evolution of the West. Granted, that leaves a very broad and complex spectrum within which these ideas need to be explored. Capra (1982) provided such a synthesis in his recent book The Turning Point.

During the materially affluent 1960's the industrial paradigm reached a pinnacle. The goals of development were equated with the goals of the consumer society. This meant that if some is good, more is better, and most is best - the credo of economic growth and what Toffler called the maximization principle (1981, p. 54). Big became synonymous with efficient and everywhere the quest to industrialize was accompanied by this macrophilia (Toffler, 1981, p. 56). The quest to increase growth revealed by the indicator of GNP is just one example.

Very little attention is paid in the literature to demand as it relates to the Conserver Society concept and the need to alter the forces promoting excess consumption. Looking at the individual in industrial societies, consumption has traditionally been a means by which one demonstrated status to others as well as heightened

self-evaluation. This was clear to the economist and sociologist Thorstein Veblen early in this century when he wrote about conspicuous consumption, conspicuous leisure and the conspicuous display of symbols of high standing (Coser, 1971, p. 269). Veblen dissected the thought and modes of conduct that underlie competitive relations and concluded that the concept of self for the individual in industrial societies is closely related to the ability to consume. The conspicuous consumption of the top social class is emulated by subordinate classes who each copy the lifestyle of its superordinates to the best of their ability.

Veblen's analysis is challenged on at least three counts by the current shift in the dominant social paradigm. He explained consumption in industrial societies. It is now very evident that the West has left the great period of industrialism as it has been known and have moved into a post-industrial period (Bell, 1973; Goldsmith et al., 1972; Marien, 1976). Among the features of the emerging post-industrial society already noted is a move away from competitive human relationships toward more collaborative ways of relating to each other. Joining that feature is a declining emphasis upon materialism and more value being placed upon the non-material aspects which lead to personal fulfillment. These features attack the consumption ethos.

Despite evidence of the shift in paradigm, "wasteful" styles of competitive display now permeate the whole social structure and is the dominant style of behaviour. These displays are encouraged by politicians, economists, business and advertising as the way to achieve personal happiness and a healthy economy. Any suggestion that such behaviour is socially and environmentally irresponsible is still met

with cries that it is an individual's right to freely consume and aspire to happiness in this way.

Even the creation of artificial needs has limits. In Social Limits to Growth (1977), the economist Fred Hirsch pointed out that the more highly developed an economy becomes, the more the economic progress of each member of the society is made at the expense of one's self. For example, having a university degree is only valuable when one is competing with others for employment where that university degree is deemed an asset and not everyone has a university degree. But if everyone had a degree then the competitive advantage, hence its value, is decreased. When this happens, Leiss (1976) would argue, new commodities have to be introduced in order to maintain consumption.

Fromm (1981) took a psychological perspective in analyzing the consumption ethos of the consumer society and why it is being challenged. In an empirical psychological and social analysis of selfishness and altruism, he tried to find out why what he called the Great Promise of the industrial era has failed. The Great Promise of Unlimited Progress included the domination of Nature, material abundance, greatest happiness for the greatest number and unimpeded personal freedom (p. xiii).

The failure of the Great Promise became evident with the growing awareness among people of the social and economic problems created by industrialization. Fromm noted people's realization that unrestricted satisfaction of all desires is not conducive to well-being, nor is it the way to happiness or even to maximum pleasure. In addition, the dream of being independent masters of their lives ended. People

started to become aware that they were merely cogs in the bureaucratic machine and that their thoughts, feelings and tastes have been manipulated by government and industry and the mass communications controlled by government and industry.

The failure of the Great Promise has been due to its two main psychological premises which have always been faulty, according to Fromm. The first premise was that the aim of life is happiness which is equated with maximum pleasure and derived from the satisfaction of any desire or subjective need a person may feel (i.e., radical hedonism). The second was that egotism, selfishness and greed, as the system needs to generate them in order to function, would lead to harmony and peace. Fromm suggested that the present industrial era, since the Second World War, has been largely based on the practice and theory of the first premise, radical hedonism.

Fromm's work led him to reduce the problem of modern society to the root psychological need of having. This concept is associated with the idea of private property rights in the social sphere. He suggested that if having was replaced by being as the dominant psychological perspective of the individual, then many of the problems could be resolved. Being implies becoming and that the proper end of all individual experiences is the evolutionary and harmonious development of the emergent self - both as a person and as part of wide collectivities. To Fromm, this ethic of being supersedes the Man-over-Nature ethic and the material-growth-and-consumption ethic.

Fromm's conclusions are consistent with descriptions of the total transformation resulting from a paradigm shift and evidence that the

transformation is already underway (Ferguson, 1980; Capra, 1982). Ideas and perceptions upon which consuming behaviour is based are being challenged in terms of a new way of viewing the world as well as assessments of the nature of Man.

Notion of Limits to Throughputs

The Club of Rome described the world problématique in terms of limits to growth. GAMMA (1976a) argued that the threats of resource depletion described by the Club of Rome were exaggerated and that the greatest threats to the system and to mankind are coming from the unintended by-products of industrialization, including such external costs as pollution, inflation, and unemployment. The complex interweave of limits and threats composing the basic problématique was described by a systems model developed by GAMMA. The group reformulated the problématique by referring to what it called throughput and spoke in terms of limits to forward throughput rather than growth. The process of throughput is what the group said is in need of alteration, and altering the process of throughput amounts to changing the direction of development in society.

The throughput-centred model represents the economic and social system. Throughput explains the transformation of inputs (factors of production) into outputs (factors of consumption). Recognizing that growth is central to all life systems, and describing society as an organic entity not mechanical, GAMMA argued that focusing only upon changing the rate of growth is an exercise in futility. It is the

composition of the GNP which is more meaningful in terms of sustainability and impact on the environment than its overall size. Figure 3 depicts GAMMA's model of limits to throughput.

The limits to throughput fall into two major categories: physical and subjective. The physical limits can be divided into two elements: inputs and outputs.

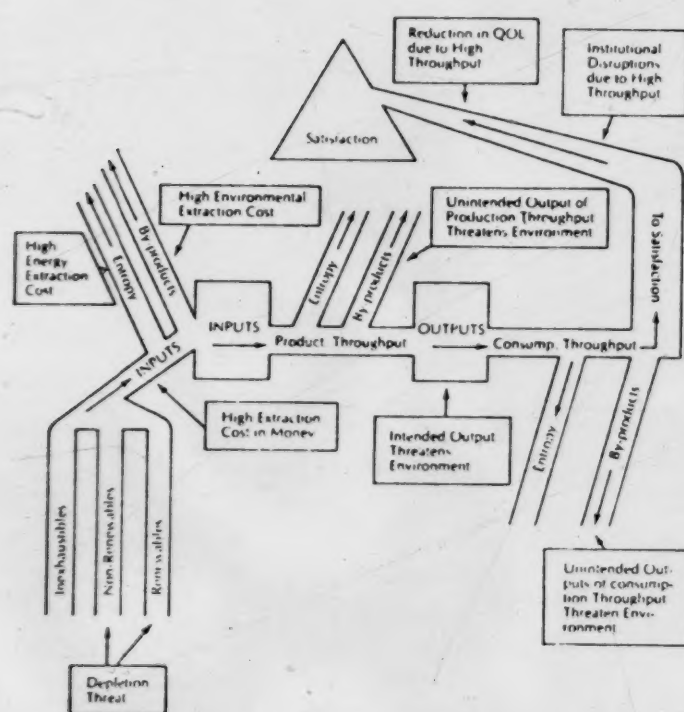
The input limits to throughput are the threats of depletion of materials entering the process and the increased cost in money and environmental terms of extracting or acquiring them. This can include both non-renewable and renewable resources. The renewability of resources can be destroyed by eliminating the conditions that allow for their renewal. For example, the renewability of the fisheries can be affected by pollution of the oceans or over-harvesting of some species upon which others depend.

Output limits to throughput refer to pollution and waste by-products emerging from throughput. These include both the intended outputs which threaten the environment, such as regulated levels of air emissions, and unintended outputs such as acid rain, the deterioration ozone layer of the atmosphere or the rising level of carbon dioxide in the world's atmosphere.

The subjective or social limits to throughput are institutionally and individually oriented and based on values. These limits refer to the capacity of society's institutions to cope with problems imposed by throughput. It includes people's and institutions' responsibility and response-ability to deal with that with which they are expected to deal. The functional imperfections of social institutions can thus be

Figure 3

Graphical Representation of the Limits to Throughput



Note: From *The Conserver Society* by K. Valaskakis, P.S. Sindell, J.G. Smith, I. Fitzpatrick-Martin, 1979. Copyright 1979 by K. Valaskakis et al. Reprinted by permission.

seen to be both causes and effects of throughput problems. In this category of limits are the values which, depending on the culture and individual's personality, make high throughput either favourable or harmful. From this perspective the limits to the throughput model not only represent the economic system, as GAMMA suggested, but can also describe the aspects of the culture which guide the throughput process.

GAMMA's Conserver Society Options

The reformulation of the problématique around the notions of limits to throughput and non-constant rates of growth provides some context and order in which to view the significance of the various Conserver Society themes and principles already described as well as the Conserver Society options developed by GAMMA, all within a systems perspective. The principles of each Conserver Society scenario can be viewed in relation to the throughput process limiting components: physical and subjective.

Valaskakis (1981) pointed out that in assessing the optimal Conserver Society in light of limits to throughput, one must be cautious in recommending universal applicability. Because of the variations in inputs and outputs and the element of human values, an optimal Conserver Society can only be site-specific, time-specific, and culture-specific. Nevertheless, there are three guiding principles Valaskakis saw all Conserver Society scenarios having in common (1981, p. 8). They all:

1. seek to minimize waste;

2. imply respect for the environment and a willingness to alter a planned development path to make it more ecologically sound. By this it is implied that human development is enhanced by the environment, rather than in opposition to it. This relationship with Nature is central to all scenarios; and
3. a long-term perspective is taken.

GAMMA articulated five throughput-centred growth options. However, the group concluded that in terms of public policy formulation and social adaptability in Canada in 1976, only three of these options were acceptable. These five options are described in the following pages, with Table 2 summarizing the three acceptable options and the issues they raise which GAMMA recommended for public debate.

Conservator Society zero is the extension of the status quo. The dominant paradigm remains the industrial paradigm which reveals itself through the mass consumption society. There is a continued proliferation and fragmentation of artificial wants and the corresponding multiplication of commodities to satisfy them. Its credo is "doing more with more" although Valaskakis (1981, p. 8) suggested that by 1981 the credo had changed to "doing the same with the same." Both credos imply little conservation. Resource scarcities make it already apparent that this scenario is neither feasible nor popular in 1983.

The second scenario outlined by GAMMA was Conservator Society One. This option provides for growth while conserving. It requires very little value change. People's behaviour must change but not their values. Its motto is "doing more with less." This scenario emphasizes



Table 2

Three Conserver Societies Compared

	Conserver Society 1	Conserver Society 2	Conserver Society 3
General objective	Do more with more.	Do same with less.	Do less with less and do something else.
Underlying world view and ideology.	Material plenty is still desirable if compatible with ecology.	"Enough is enough." There is a ceiling to desirable material plenty.	The way to happiness is not through material plenty.
Principal implementation strategies.	1. Reform of inefficient consumption habits. 2. Sharing by renting. 3. The management of time. 4. Full-cost pricing. 5. Partnership of public/private sectors. 6. Conserver technology.	1. All the CS1 policies that are compatible with CS2. 2. Consumption and production ceilings. 3. Counter-advertising.	1. All the CS1 and CS2 policies compatible with CS3. 2. Roll back artificial wants through human awareness campaign. 3. De-industrialization.
Degree of feasibility vis-à-vis 1981 North America.	High. Can be implemented rapidly.	Medium. Requires some value shifts.	Low. Requires major value shift.

Note: From "The Conserver Society: Emerging Paradigm of the 1980's?" by K. Valaskakis, *The Futurist*, 1981, April 5-13. Copyright 1981 by K. Valaskakis. Reprinted by permission.

efficiency - more output with less input. It does not discard the importance of material comfort as one element among many needed to achieve happiness, but suggests more efficient means of production and consumption.

Six key strategies to bring about a Conserver Society were suggested by GAMMA and restated by Valaskakis et al. (1979) and Valaskakis (1981). They were:

1. Reform of inefficient consumption habits (i.e., reform, reuse, and recycle: e.g., stop leaving lights on, excess packaging, overheating, and overcooling of houses and buildings).
2. Sharing by renting to bring about more durable goods and eliminate the need for private ownership of low-use goods.
3. Changes in the way time is managed so that sharing by renting can be possible and to eliminate peak demand times (e.g., flextime in the workplace).
4. Full-cost pricing so that the price of commodities include both internal and external costs.
5. Partnership between the public and private sectors. The private sector minimizes internal costs and maximizes external costs. The public sector does the reverse. Some balance between the two is suggested.
6. Designing conserver technologies which are appropriate, economize on energy and materials, are durable, sturdy in construction, use renewable material when possible, do not do violence to the environment, and are recycable.

Clearly the Conserver Society maximum efficiency scenario uses subtle management techniques and advanced technology to achieve some level of sustainability. It is this scenario GAMMA recommended to the federal government for promotion and upon which to base policy.

The Affluent Stable State Conserver Society is based on an idea that even efficient and waste-free industrial growth is subject to limits and once those limits are reached an affluent stable state should be maintained. At that point there would be no industrial growth but not necessarily no growth in services or personal fulfillment (Valaskakis, 1981, p. 11). In this way it resembles Daly's Stable State (Daly, 1973). The motto of this scenario is "do the same with less."

Central to the success of the Affluent Stable State option is what GAMMA called ZANG - zero growth in artificial needs. The idea of ZANG is based upon the premise that some needs are innate and others are the result of what Valaskakis called "enculturation" (1981, p. 11). Those resulting from enculturation are artificial in the sense that they do not relate to one's basic survival needs. ZANG would mean arresting the further creation of artificial needs through advertising, but not repudiating those already acquired. In order to achieve ZANG advertising would either have to be eliminated or counter-advertising begun to offset the influence of need-creating advertising.

Another Conserver Society option, the Frugal Society, repudiates the industrial paradigm of the consumer society. Its motto is "doing less with less and doing something else." This Conserver Society gets its inspiration from Buddhism, Schumacher's philosophy of small is

beautiful (1974), Edward Goldsmith's deindustrialization (Goldsmith et al., 1972), and the voluntary simplicity movement. This option has very low throughput. It is not just a freeze but a rollback of all non-natural, acquired needs that are ecologically harmful. Above all, this Conserver Society requires radical change in the value systems of industrialized countries. Because of being so radical, writers generally agree that the changes necessitated by this model could not be imposed but would have to emerge spontaneously out of natural cultural evolution. GAMMA was examining these options in terms of possible federal government action in the area of policy change so this was a necessary conclusion for that study team.

The final Conserver Society option rightfully cannot be considered a Conserver Society, but it is an option. Described as Conserver Society minus one (CS -1), or The Squander Scenario, its motto is "do less with more." It is a projection based on an unaltered industrial paradigm which results in an extreme mass consumption society. It is wasteful, generates high production, maximum pollution and requires greater and greater effort to eliminate pollution. This kind of society is characterized by the fragmentation and generation of needs where the consumer requires more and more products to cater to every inch of his/her body and every aspect of lifestyle.

GAMMA's work provided a schematic presentation of the complex considerations of the Conserver Society concept. It helps to provide a framework in which to view other Conserver Society themes such as self-sufficiency, decentralization, appropriate technology, and the soft development path, even though these were overlooked by GAMMA in

its final analysis and recommendations for encouraging Canada's movement toward a Conserver Society.

GAMMA's study of the Conserver Society is significant because it established a thorough foundation for subsequent study of the concept. Being government commissioned, study represents an institutional response to the uncertainty resulting from the current cultural crisis and the underlying competing paradigms. It introduced, with its limits to throughput model, the need to examine the problems of resource scarcity, environmental degradation and social disruption from a systems perspective. The group's work synthesized much of the knowledge and writing about the problématique, with reference to Canada, to that point. Most significantly, it began a discussion of values as they relate to Conserver Society issues (1976d). In so doing, the Conserver Society had to start to be viewed as more than a technical/scientific challenge but one of cultural transformation as well.

Bringing About a Conserver Society

The Science Council presented five policy thrusts as guidelines for Canada's movement toward a Conserver Society. These were included in the Science Council's definition of a Conserver Society quoted in the introduction to this thesis. They were:

1. concern for the future;
2. economy of design;
3. diversity, flexibility, and responsibility;

4. recognition of total costs; and
5. respect for the regenerative capacity of the biosphere.

These policy thrusts were implicit, if not explicit, in the key strategies suggested by GAMMA to bring about a Conserver Society. Although these five policies identify the needed perspectives, there are some fundamental conflicts preventing their implementation or acceptance.

Most of the institutions for which these policy thrusts were put forward operate in a system with, and have by the nature of institutions barriers to conforming to these policy thrusts. The one-year time span of institutional budgets, the four-year electoral period, and the need for quick returns on investments in business, prevent a long-term perspective. Economy of design is a relative concept, one to which everyone would claim to adhere. Diversity, especially as it relates to the soft energy path, is seen by some institutions to be threatening and is therefore opposed. A recognition of total costs means not accepting or passing along the burden of trade-offs (e.g., employment/inflation, pollution/economic growth). There are numerous other ways which the policy thrusts recommended by the Science Council are met with resistance.

Many studies of the Conserver Society concept which have accepted the need and desirability to move toward a sustainable post-industrial society have focused upon how institutions such as government and industry can plan and encourage this move (Cordell, 1982; Henion and Kinnear, 1979; Hooker and Van Hulst, 1981; SCC, 1977; Walker, 1979). Such was the mandate of GAMMA and continues to be the perspective of

the Science Council of Canada. While there may be some adjustments institutions can make, their structures and functions make them incompatible with elements of the emerging paradigm. This point was expressed by Capra (1982) when he identified the disintegration of large institutions as a feature of the emerging paradigm. The strong place of community and isolated minorities are leading in initiatives alternative to the dominant industrial paradigm. Yet, none of the studies of the Conserver Society concept have addressed the role that can be placed by small community groups in encouraging the change of values and beliefs necessary for the transition to a Conserver Society, or the role groups can play in diffusing conserver behaviour.

Criticisms of the Conserver Society Concept

The Conserver Society concept has not captured the commitment of everyone seeking alternatives. There are reasons for this. The criticism of the concept and its proponents helps explain why. The most common has been that the concept has lacked clear definition. This has resulted in the concept being given a variety of meanings and interpretations. Starrs (1976, p. 46) found the concept "... too negative, too much rooted in concepts of scarcity, and lacking the magic needed to attract and retain whole-hearted commitment to its message ...". She also observed some confusion between the Conserver Society and conservative politics (with either a large or small "c").

Because the Conserver Society concept is not capable of being precisely defined, its open-ended nature has resulted in a variety of

meanings and interpretations being attached to it. However, if the concept is being influenced by a shift in the dominant social paradigm, the very nature of the paradigm will make the Conserver Society difficult to define by those who come to hold that paradigm (Harman, 1979). The Conserver Society concept, as a manifestation of the emerging paradigm would, therefore, continue to appear ambiguous.

There has been criticism levelled against the "anti-growth" advocates of a Conserver Society. They can be seen as an elite whose principle motivation is the self-interested defense of a privileged position within the economic and social order (Schrecher, 1980). In her analysis of the Conserver Society concept as proposed by the Science Council of Canada, Luczynska (1981) made a similar conclusion. She saw the major objective of the Conserver Society proposals of the Science Council to be the consolidation of capitalist enterprise and the advancement of the interests of the scientific/technical elite. In the Science Council's report Canada as a Conserver Society (1977), there remained a commitment to industrial growth. Because the environmental and social problems which gave rise to the Conserver Society concept are themselves consequences of industrial growth the Science Council's continued adherence to industrial growth, in that report was seen to be a contradiction by Luczynska. She further criticized the Science Council report because it failed to consider in its analysis the structure of power and inequality within which the negative social and environmental effects of industrial growth have arisen.

A criticism made by Starrs (1976) about the advocates of a Conserver Society continues to be relevant today. There is an emphasis in most interpretations of the Conserver Society concept upon the conservation of things, such as resources, the physical environment, sources of non-human energy, and the need to recycle. There has been an implicit assumption among these advocates that all that is necessary for a life-sustaining future is to shift ideologies from consumption to conservation. Starrs drew attention to the need for more fundamental changes, including finding more adequate ways of restructuring patterns of knowledge and more adequate images of oneself as a full person. It is evident that the Conserver Society concept was leading Starrs to ask some fundamental questions about Western culture. Her 1980 report proved this to be the case.

The biggest criticism that can be made of the GAMMA study and Valaskakis' works is that they did not appear to appreciate how deep-rooted the consumption ethos is in individual's psyche and Western culture. They viewed the movement to a Conserver Society as simply a social policy question that could be engineered through appropriate mechanisms in institutions to encourage conservation. This might be explained by their attachment to large institutions which were supporting their studies. Their works did not adequately convey an appreciation for the deep-rooted and long-term implications the issues raised by the Conserver Society concept have upon Canadian culture. As a result, their recommendations over-emphasized the traditional top down approach to social change and did not acknowledge the diversity of approaches needed to address the challenge of implementation.

The need for a diversity of approaches began to be appreciated at a Science Council-sponsored conference, Agenda for Action (SCC, 1978). Participants there concluded that the major thrust of a strategy for bringing about a Conserver Society must rely upon a combination of initiatives: voluntary change through the efforts of concerned individuals and community groups and an improvement of the institutional framework provided by government. GAMMA's study paid no attention to the role of community-based initiatives or their role in relation to policies facilitating conserver behaviour.

For the most part the discussions of the Conserver Society concept, including those coming from the Science Council, GAMMA and Valaskakis, proposed adjustments or accommodations to specific conditions without changing the main thrust of the system. Some of the adjustments identified were viewed from the perspective of the dominant industrial system and consequently they were overly committed to maintaining economic growth and reinforcing bureaucracies. Nowhere was this more evident than in a conference report of the Canadian Institute on Public Affairs, Growth in a Conserving Society (Walker, 1979).

The Conserver Society concept has more recently come to be seen as an insufficiently powerful concept to deal with the need for change facing the world (SCC, 1982, p. 10). It is limited because it only deals with part of the problem, and it does not offer enough guidance to bring about the cultural and economic change which is necessary. This thesis supports this view. At the same time, it should be acknowledged that the Conserver Society concept has been very valuable, and can continue to be valuable, in contributing to a greater

understanding of the magnitude of changes entailed in the paradigm shift.

The Changing Conserver Society Concept

The concept of a Conserver Society, as it was originally introduced by the Science Council of Canada, was concerned with resource scarcity and how to maintain levels of growth and a standard of living acceptable to Canadians. Over the years the concept has been altered and expanded to include broader social and cultural considerations (SCC, 1982). The writer suggests that these alterations were the result of influence from thinking in a variety of areas relating to the nature of the global problématique. As the understanding of the problématique became recognized as essentially a cultural crisis and a crisis of perception (Capra, 1982), the concept of a Conserver Society moved into the realm of cultural transformation. Eventually a Conserver Society concept began to be seen within the context of a new paradigm (Starrs, 1980; Valaskakis, 1981). In that context, bringing about a Conserver Society must address the need for profound changes in thoughts, perceptions and values which form an altered vision of reality upon which behaviour can be based.

The Conserver Society Concept as Part of a Paradigm Shift

The Conserver Society concept emerged out of concerns for a socially and environmentally sustainable future. The discontinuities

of which people became aware indicated that a radically altered vision of the future was necessary. The concept has many similarities with other alternative initiatives, many of which have been developing since the 1960's. All are based on a decentralized vision of post-industrial society. Because of these similarities the Conserver Society concept is best studied in the context of these alternatives. In so doing it becomes apparent that these initiatives are contributing to the emergence of a new paradigm out of which comes an alternative concept of development. The features of this paradigm are not yet entirely clear. There are, however, some characteristics such as decentralization, appropriate technology and a concern for scale, new definitions of self-sufficiency, an ecological perspective, and others, which offer some hints as to its nature.

The community development process, involving community efforts at problem-solving and a challenge to the reigning paradigm, is descriptive of the process of shifting paradigms into a post-industrial society. The alternative experience is at the same time a learning and a political experience because of its challenge to the established order. While the process of community development can be seen to apply to the alternative experience, there are also similarities between the rhetoric of both. The ideas of local problem-solving, participation in decision-making and self-sufficiency, run through the literature of both. This is illustrated when the Conserver Society was described in the following manner by one group:

Diversity, decentralization, and regionalism are part of the conserver approach. The objective is for individuals to retain the capability to control and be responsible for the condition of their lives. Regionalism or decentralization ... implies an approach or a way of devising solutions to perceived problems. The people who are affected by the problem and must live with the solution must be involved in the diagnosis and the planning. The solution must be appropriate to their local circumstances ... Initiatives, decision-making, and action must occur at an appropriate level (SCC, 1978, p. 22).

After studying a variety of alternative lifestyles and applications of appropriate technologies in eastern Ontario, Reddin and Clarke (1978) concluded that the decentralist move which these initiatives represented is an important issue for consideration in the study of the community development process. They related alternatives to the process of community-building, which for them was the process of community development. The compatibility of the community development process with alternatives is evident.

This chapter has surveyed the literature dealing with a Conserver Society and has addressed what the writer believes are the most significant themes underlying the concept. The Conserver Society concept clearly can best be viewed within the context of a variety of alternative initiatives being explored in Canada. All are based upon a fundamental redefinition of development. That redefinition has taken place as a result of people formulating a new world-view, a new paradigm. Essentially the Conserver Society is an example of an alternative which supports the view that a new paradigm is emerging. Efforts surrounding the promotion of a Conserver Society can be viewed

as representing some of the minorities or networks Capra (1982) identified which are contributing to the rising cultural changes coming together around a new paradigm.

This thesis will now turn away from the theoretical and historical perspective to focus upon the actual efforts of one group. This group's initiative in promoting a Conserver Society provides an example of an alternative concept of development to that of the conventional industrial concept. Some of the characteristics of the emerging paradigm discussed in the previous pages are embodied in the efforts and process of this group.

CHAPTER IV

Friends of the Earth Canada: An Illustrative Case Study

This chapter is a profile of one group whose efforts illustrate an attempt at problem-solving using an alternative framework to analyze problems and propose solutions. The Conserver Society concept serves as the concept of development for Friends of the Earth. The adverse consequences of conventional industrial development are challenged by FOE and alternative directions of development are proposed by this group. Its objective is expressly the promotion of a Conserver Society. It promotes a Conserver Society by looking at specific environmental problems, bringing them to public consciousness and questioning the thinking and actions which have caused these problems to arise.

The founding and history of FOE are reviewed in the following pages. FOE's contacts and affiliations are identified so as to convey an understanding of FOE's relationships with other development alternative initiatives. Its support base, its activities of advocacy, research, and communication, its administration and its leadership are all described. This profile of FOE is background to the next chapter in which the writer analyzes and interprets the case of FOE in relation to the role of the paradigm shift in social change.

Founding, History, and Affiliations

The energy crisis and a growing recognition of the limits to growth were factors identified by the founders of FOE which contributed to their perception of the need for a group like FOE to promote change. They felt, and continue to feel, that there is more wrong with the economies of the industrialized nations than just a dent in the business cycle.

The impetus for the establishment of FOE Canada came from Dr. David B. Brooks, a prominent Canadian environmentalist and former director of the Office of Energy Conservation with the federal government's Department of Energy, Mines and Resources. Introduced to FOE International by friends in 1976, Brooks made contact with FOE in the United States and subsequently established himself as their Canadian representative with the intention of establishing FOE in Canada. He was provided an organizing grant of \$2,000 by the FOE Foundation in the United States to help with the formation of a Canadian group.

Brooks drafted and circulated a proposal to activist environmental groups with which he had contact through Environment Canada and the Canadian Environmental Advisory Council, a group of prominent scientists which provides advice to the Minister of the Environment. The proposal underwent a number of revisions as a result of feedback from these groups. In February 1978, Brooks circulated the final draft. Basically, the final proposal was to establish a national organization that could stimulate, coordinate and support environmental activities, including political activities, leading toward a Conserver

Society in Canada. It called for "... concerted action by public interest groups in Canada that were willing to treat CS issues, including soft energy paths, wilderness preservation, and environmental protection, as political issues..." (Brooks, 1978, p. 1).

The proposal was accepted and three months later representatives of nine environmental groups from five provinces met and founded FOE Canada. This group of ten people, including Brooks, established most of the details of FOE's role which appears in the following pages. Brooks accepted responsibility for arranging the incorporation, drafting the bylaws, and seeking tax deductible status.

FOE's Objectives

The fundamental objective of FOE Canada is "to encourage and promote Canada's movement towards a 'Conserver Society'" (Paehlke, 1979). FOE's 1980-1981 annual report describes its objective of a conserver society in this way:

A conserver society is a vision of humanity living in harmony with the natural environment. It recognizes that the world is both finite and interdependent. A conserver society is concerned about the long-term impact of decisions in such areas as energy and resources. A conserver society opposes waste, pollution, and the degradation of the environment. It is built on social justice, political democracy, and a concern for the quality of life. A conserver society is a dramatic step forward to a sustainable and equitable way of life for ourselves and for future generations (Friends of the Earth Annual Report 1980-1981).

To achieve this broad objective FOE has identified three sub-objectives toward which it is specifically working:

1. a soft energy path which bases Canada's energy future on conservation and renewable energy, specialized roles for non-renewable fossil fuels and a decreasing reliance on coal and nuclear power;
2. resource conservation by encouraging the reduction of demand for consumer goods, elimination of planned obsolescence, more durable goods, reuse and recycling of garbage; and
3. environmental protection - protecting human and natural resources.

For FOE the promotion of a Conserver Society is seen as the cumulative effect of their advocacy, research and communication efforts. Specific issues, when addressed by FOE with a Conserver Society perspective and introduced as political issues, are expected to result in changes in policies and programs within various levels of government. There is recognition among the staff and board members interviewed that FOE is involved in promoting social change - social change which is alternative to contemporary development thought and is demonstrated in physical terms by the issues FOE addresses. This role was described by Brooks in the following manner:

One of the things that is implicit in promoting a Conserver Society is a lot of active political involvement at local and regional levels. We are trying to strengthen those groups who are out there, whether they are on the west coast or the east coast, to give them some coherence, some strength and unity, and some opportunities to exchange ideas and

coordinate programs. More specifically, we have tried to select program areas, such as toxics and energy, in which the question inherently becomes [for example] not why is there smoke from that smoke stack, but why is that smoke stack there at all. (We are) raising questions about alternative patterns of development (Brooks, 1982).

Incorporation

In September of 1978 FOE, was incorporated under The Canada Corporation's Act as a non-profit corporation. It should be noted that the objects of the company and its bylaws do not cite the promotion of a "conservation society" per se. Rather, environmental conservation is emphasized. The letters patent of FOE's incorporating documents contain the following objectives:

1. to encourage, promote, and support environmental conservation in Canada;
2. to federate organizations whose objects include the promotion of environmental conservation anywhere in Canada;
3. to coordinate and support the environmental conservation efforts of any such organizations within Canada as may become members of the Corporation, provided that the Corporation shall not participate in or devote any of its resources to:
 - (a) the encouragement, support, promotion or defence of any interests of its members other than their common interest in environmental conservation in Canada;
 - (b) the electoral campaign of any candidate for any elected office at any level of government in Canada;

- (c) any publicity campaign in the press, radio or on television except for the purpose of publicizing programs or communications of a non-partisan educational nature; or
 - (d) any representation to any elected representative at any level of government in Canada, except in response to specific requests for such representations or, in the case of non-partisan communications, for the exclusive purpose of promoting environmental conservation in Canada.
4. to provide informational services to its member groups by means of a periodical newsletter;
 5. to educate the Canadian public by means of a periodical newsmagazine about the need for environmental conservation; and
 6. to represent Canadian environmentalists at international meetings of environmentalists.

(See Appendix II for letters patent.)

FOE is a registered charitable organization with Revenue Canada. With this status comes limitations on political activities but FOE has never had its charitable status questioned by Revenue Canada. This is surprising given the emphasis FOE explicitly places upon political activity which charitable status prohibits.

Membership

The membership criteria and procedures for application to FOE have remained consistent since FOE's inception. Membership is restricted to groups. Individual membership is not possible. Individuals who

believe in FOE's objectives and programs are encouraged to join a member organization. Consequently membership of individuals is seen to be indirect; through a person's involvement in a member group. There are individual supporters of FOE who are identified as patrons. These are people who have donated \$100 or more to FOE. Patrons are eligible to make and second motions at meetings, but may not vote.

Membership is limited to organized environmental groups. There is no established definition of what constitutes an environmental group. Groups can be based anywhere in Canada and can overlap or be exclusive to their region or issue. There are four general criteria FOE asks groups to address to be considered for membership. They are:

1. the group gives an indication that it is active and forceful in some aspect of environmental work in Canada and that it can actively engage in a two-way communication process;
2. the group formally subscribes to the goal of the Conserver Society in Canada within a framework of social justice and political democracy;
3. the group is willing to support and encourage political activities (not necessarily partisan political activities) that are designed to move Canada toward a Conserver Society; and
4. the group is willing to designate one person who will have the authority to make decisions on its behalf at meetings and who will be capable of rapid reaction to policy questions over the telephone if the need arises.

Organizations that believe they meet these four criteria must apply in writing providing background information on their organization and

they must respond explicitly to each of the four criteria. The organization's application must be accepted by a majority vote of the existing membership at a general meeting or a majority vote of the Board of Directors. The group membership fee is \$100 per year.

There is much autonomy for groups affiliated with FOE. Each group is free to set and act on its own policies. They are asked to indicate that they are affiliated with FOE, but they cannot adopt the name of FOE. The national organization has no authority or responsibility for member organizations or their decisions. The Executive Director of FOE handles requests for spokespersons so that a person or group cannot speak for FOE without first being designated a spokesperson by the membership. When people speak for FOE they can also indicate at the same time they are speaking for their own group(s). For example, Dr. David Brooks will speak for FOE when designated a spokesperson and he is also free to speak on behalf of Energy Probe, the group he represents.

The membership of FOE has ranged from ten to thirty groups at any one time, with ten being the number of charter members when FOE was founded. A list of the current membership appears in Appendix III. It is interesting to note that, of the current membership list, ten were included in Starrs' survey of development alternatives (Starrs, 1980). This membership and the concerns of each group is a good indication of the range of issues which fall within the bounds of a Conserver Society.

Member groups are encouraged to recruit new groups as well as donations and support. These are difficult responsibilities for them to fulfill because, quite naturally, member groups must put their own

financial survival and constituency base ahead of that of FOE. Member groups have their own responsibilities and services to provide to their members and supporters. In contrast, FOE must appeal to individuals for financial support yet its services are directed at the group level.

A perception of the need for a broader support and funding base for FOE has led some member group representatives to suggest on several occasions that individual or dual (both group and individual) membership be permitted. These options were raised in the initial proposal establishing FOE but the founding members resolved that group membership was the desired route. Questions about membership have resurfaced on at least two occasions known to the writer; at the Annual General Meeting in 1981 and a general meeting in June of 1982.

It appeared, from the interviews conducted and observation at the general meeting in June 1982, that there is not always the same level of understanding about the purpose and history of FOE. This may be a result of changing representation from groups. With new representatives the need to discuss old issues resurfaces. For example, FOE is said to be designed for politically active groups and as such is not a grassroots organization. This conception and design of FOE is not always understood by new representatives (Brooks, 1982).

A final observation about membership has to do with the scope of potential impact of the organization. By taking into consideration estimates of individual memberships of member groups (see Appendix III for a membership list), the writer estimates that roughly 30,000 people, directly or indirectly, are capable of being influenced by FOE through an organizational contact. This estimate does not consider

people who subscribe to FOE publications or who are exposed to FOE publications in libraries or other institutions. Nor does it consider those who would be impacted by FOE's efforts of environmental advocacy directed toward the Canadian public and decision-makers. FOE's sphere of influence, therefore, can be very great.

International Affiliation

The original proposal made by Brooks to establish FOE Canada offered two options to environmental groups. One was to create an independent organization. The other was to affiliate with Friends of the Earth International. Brooks recommended the latter and that option was selected.

FOE International consists of a network of national groups from over twenty-four countries. The first FOE group was founded in 1969 by David R. Brower in Berkley, California. Each national group is free to organize and to take positions as it sees fit. FOE in the United States has individual memberships, for example. Affiliation with FOE International offers the opportunity for sharing information, ideas, and an international network. The Ottawa office of FOE Canada maintains contact with FOE International's permanent secretariat located in Goteborg, Sweden. A quarterly international bulletin, FOE-Link, is published by FOE International.

FOE Canada has been represented at the annual meetings of FOE International. Meetings have been held in San Francisco, Brussels, Washington, Madrid, and Goteborg, Sweden. Their agenda items have

focused on transnational issues suited to international cooperation among environmental groups. These have included energy strategies and policies, tropical deforestation, desertification, the conservation of Antarctica, military damage to the environment, and nuclear disarmament. These meetings have been reported on at general meetings of FOE Canada as well as in Conserver Society Notes, an insert to FOE Canada's journal, Alternatives.

Other national groups, particularly those of the United States and the United Kingdom, have embarked upon publishing projects. One example, Progress as if Survival Mattered: A Handbook for a Conserver Society (Nash, 1977), is published by FOE in San Francisco. These publications indicate that other FOE groups play an advocacy role also. Some of these publications, and those of FOE Canada too, are designed for a specialized readership. There are several "how to" books and manuals for community groups. FOE Canada's publications are described later in this chapter.

No evidence was found which explicitly linked the objectives of other national groups with the promotion of social change or an overall concept like a Conserver Society. Brooks (1982) and Boerma (1982) confirmed this observation, but Brooks saw their objectives to be consistent with Conserver Society principles. The goal of a Conserver Society is, therefore, implicit in their efforts. In contrast, FOE Canada has integrated its concern for the environment with the promotion of social change entailed in a Conserver Society. The use of the Conserver Society concept is the most significant distinction of FOE Canada.

Environmental Non-Governmental Organizations

A description of FOE would be incomplete without also describing the Environmental Non-Governmental Organizations (ENGO) network. The ENGO network is a loosely knit association of environmental groups from across Canada. There are about fifty groups, including FOE, in the ENGO network. The ENGO network is spearheaded by a national volunteer steering committee of ten regionally elected representatives. Many of FOE's directors sit on the ENGO steering committee.

The ENGO network is designed to keep the channels of communication open among environmental groups, and between these groups and the federal government. This is accomplished through regular meetings between the national steering committee and Environment Canada officials and through an annual meeting of ENGO's. Funds are provided to the national steering committee by Environment Canada. These funds are used to organize an annual meeting of ENGO's, for the work of the national steering committee, and for ENGO's to promote and participate in Environment Week, the first week of June each year.

The ENGO network has been in existence for six years and over that time its communication function has been growing and improving (Brooks, 1982). This role has been interpreted within FOE as competing with FOE's communication function. In addition, ENGO's role has been seen to be in conflict with FOE because of potential influence from the federal government, through Environment Canada, which funds the ENGO network. These perceptions have sparked discussions within FOE about the dangers of government funding causing dependency and threatening

co-optation, and how both groups can serve different functions for environmental groups without conflicting with each other.

There was a call at FOE's general meeting in June 1982 to declare it a conflict of interest for board members of FOE to sit on the ENGO steering committee. The objectives of both groups were seen by some to be in conflict. This call, however, was quashed with a discussion of FOE's dependency on the ENGO network to be able to meet, and more importantly, by a reiteration of the unique political role FOE can play. The ENGO network cannot be very political because its existence depends solely upon federal government funding. Moreover, the ENGO network is a product of a government decision to serve its interests. The two groups are very different in the functions and interests they serve.

Operations

FOE acknowledges that its efforts to promote change must be directed at three levels: at Canadian decision-makers, at the Canadian public, and at Canadian environmental organizations. The efforts of FOE generally fall into three categories: advocacy, research, and communications. These operations are reviewed below with some of the more significant projects described in detail.

Advocacy

Some see the advocacy and political functions of FOE as paramount. It is FOE's desire to make Canadian decision-makers more fully aware of environmental concerns. This is attempted by mobilizing non-partisan political support for environmental causes. Part of the executive director's job is to establish and maintain contact with Members of Parliament and bureaucrats in Ottawa. FOE also prepares briefs for regulatory hearings, assessment panels, and submits letters of support or disapproval on issues of concern.

In addition to active lobbying on a variety of issues FOE regularly identifies key issues around which it concentrates lobbying. FOE has taken a stand opposing Canada's support of whaling, and has called for greater access to environmental information under Canada's Access to Information Act. There is always flexibility to take on other issues but specific issues are given major attention. The issues identified by the membership at the time of this research were: toxics, soft energy paths, and nuclear energy, mining, and armaments. Toxics were identified as a issue due to growing public concern over toxic chemicals. Descriptions of two significant advocacy projects follow.

In 1980, FOE prepared an analysis and summary of the Liberal, Progressive Conservative, and New Democratic Party energy policies. These analyses were distributed along with summaries of the Soft Energy Path study to the media, to all candidates, to individuals, and to environmental groups across Canada. This they called their Election Energy Action Kit and the Ottawa office provided facilitators for

individuals and groups to help them raise energy as a political issue in the 1980 federal election.

FOE is a founding member of the Energy for Development Project. This is a coalition of Canadian energy, environmental, and international development groups which explores the connections between energy and environmental issues in Canada and developing countries. In August 1981 and May 1982, the project sent Dr. Brooks as a representative to the Forum for Non-Governmental Organizations and New and Renewable Sources of Energy in Nairobi, Kenya. Since then the project has been holding workshops across Canada to examine this issue and raise public awareness.

Research

The second activity in which FOE is engaged is research. This is an ongoing activity which FOE has deemed essential for all of its other work and valuable in itself. The specific issues FOE has designated for attention require sound research. Research is seen to be necessary to maintain legitimacy and because there is a recognition that lobbying alone is not enough. FOE has identified the need to back up its positions with research to gain the support of decision-makers and to be able to challenge existing conditions with sound and reliable alternatives.

In November of 1980, FOE signed a contract to do a study developing a soft energy path for Canada. The contract was for \$187,287 and three federal government departments who were party to the contract:

Environment Canada, Energy, Mines and Resources, and Supply and Services. Petro Canada also contributed funds for the study. It was launched in early December 1980 and was 18 months in duration.

This project was co-directed by the then FOE President, David Brooks, and John Robinson of the Institute for Environmental Studies at the University of Toronto. There were eleven regional researchers, one for each province and one for the territories, connected with the study.

The objective of the Soft Energy Path Study was to demonstrate the technical and economic feasibility of an energy future based on conservation and renewable sources with a more specialized use of fossil fuels and a decreasing reliance on nuclear power. An economic model of the Canadian economy was developed to ensure that each study fit into a total picture of a soft energy path for the nation. The study looked at the technical and economic feasibility of an energy policy for Canada which considers end-use efficiency on the demand side and decentralized renewable sources on the supply side. Soft energy paths were developed for each province and territory.

Preliminary provincial soft energy paths were published in Alternatives during 1979 and 1980. The final report, when delivered to Energy, Mines and Resources, and Environment Canada consisted of more than 1,000 pages in three volumes with hundreds of tables and diagrams, and was much more rigorous and detailed than those which appeared in Alternatives.

FOE's hope is to make the Soft Energy Paths Study findings a subject of ongoing public debate in the context of Canada's energy future involving member groups from across Canada. The exact means to

do this was unknown to their executive director, Vles, and Brooks at the time of this research. Publication of a paperback edition was being planned and it was hoped this could be the backbone of a public advocacy campaign. A popular version of the Soft Energy Path Study, as such, was not covered by the government contract so FOE has been seeking other means to continue this project.

Included in the initial proposal establishing FOE was a suggestion that the creation of subsidiaries of the national organization be considered to enable the performance of specific functions such as long-range research. The Office of Nuclear Analysis follows from that suggestion. It is the area of FOE which handles the nuclear issue.

The Office of Nuclear Analysis was proposed by Ralph Torrie, an energy research consultant and FOE's nuclear spokesperson. His proposal was endorsed at FOE's annual general meeting in December of 1980. The office was intended to be a self-sufficient unit of FOE, responsible for its own financial survival with Torrie having responsibility for its management. Plans were to develop educational programs designed to reach a broad audience, keep a close watch on federal government nuclear policy formation, and to develop contacts in government and the media.

FOE affiliated analysts occasionally researched such topics as lead contamination, energy statistics, and the federal government's National Energy Program. The lack of funds to hire researchers makes FOE's research capacity limited. Previously, research had been made possible through contract work and on an ad hoc basis by staff or volunteers. At the general meeting of June 1982, when priority issues were

discussed, some representatives were acutely aware that research money is not always available for research on issues FOE has identified as priorities. FOE appeared to be unhappy with its limited research capacity.

Communications

The third area of activity in which FOE is involved is communications. The need for a sharing of information among environmental groups was one of the reasons FOE was established. FOE has identified the function of being a direct information link between Ottawa and its member groups as one of its most useful roles.

The Ottawa office takes much of what is happening politically in environmental issues, sums it up, and informs its members. The Ottawa location of the office makes it more practical for FOE to keep in touch with political developments from the nation's capital. There is usually the opportunity to access a federal government telephone. The executive director, through government telephone connections, can maintain regular contact with board members and member groups across Canada without the burden of long distance telephone charges. Contact is maintained in this way to provide an information service to member groups as well as to gather information and viewpoints from the members. The communication function of the Ottawa office also includes international liaison with environmental groups in other countries.

Occasionally FOE issues press releases. These are critical comments or responses to issues FOE has identified as being important.

In June 1982, at a general meeting, it was agreed to attempt to issue simultaneous news releases across Canada so that they do not only get issued in Ottawa as was the practice. There was also agreement that the possibility of telex hookups for all member groups be investigated. These are indicators of how valuable the communication function is viewed and the connection between the communications and advocacy roles of FOE.

FOE provides some how to information to member groups. For example, it published Spread the Word! A Marketing Manual for Environmental Groups (FOE, 1981). This manual instructs non-profit organizations in the publication and marketing of their own books and periodicals.

FOE publishes a number of periodicals which also serve to improve communication on environmental matters. FOE announced in June 1982 that it was to begin publishing a newsletter with assistance from Environment Canada. To be called FOE-TOX, it is designed to give information and news on toxics and pesticides. The other publications of FOE are described in more detail below.

With the Summer/Fall 1979 issue of Alternatives, which up to that time had been subtitled Perspectives on Society and Environment, FOE Canada gained its own journal. Since its inception in 1971, Alternatives was published as a joint project of Pollution Probe Peterborough, an activist organization, and a group of faculty and students at Trent University in Peterborough, Ontario. These groups formed Alternatives Inc., a non-profit corporation which now administers Alternatives on a financially independent basis from FOE.

Most of the members of Alternatives Inc., are or have been faculty, students, or staff at Trent University. The editors of Alternatives have been named in equal numbers by FOE and by Alternatives Inc.

Alternatives is published quarterly with an average length of 52 pages since it became a journal of FOE. The circulation is approximately 4,000 (Ulrick's International Periodicals Directory, 1981), with about one-half being institutional subscribers and the other half being individual subscribers (Vles, 1982). Alternatives has attempted to adhere to academic style while being timely and contributing to citizen environmental activism. Assessments of the journal have varied from being unduly philosophical, insufficiently political or boring, to being unscholarly and sensational, as admitted by its editor (Paehlke, 1979). The editor admitted that the journal may have been guilty at one time or another of such deviations.

Each issue of Alternatives contains six to eight indepth articles contributed by environmental authorities mainly. Some topics covered have included: economic growth and the Conserver Society, impact of energy prices on low income households, renewable energy in developing countries, coal development, land use planning, soft energy paths, toxic wastes, and nuclear energy.

Alternatives is published almost entirely on the revenue received from subscriptions and with some donations. Environment Canada and the Department of the Secretary of State have been involved by providing financial assistance for publication and assistance with distribution.

With the same issue that created Alternatives as the journal of FOE, Conserver Society Notes was combined with Alternatives. Conserver

Society Notes was initiated by the Science Council of Canada in connection with its exploration of the Conserver Society concept. It was published by Alternatives Inc. with the cooperation of the Faculty of Environmental Studies at York University for 18 months preceding its amalgamation with Alternatives. Conserver Society Notes appears as an insert to Alternatives. This insert contains a brief update on the activities of FOE in addition to other articles which generally do not follow an academic style, but are more like a newspaper in style. Articles contained in Conserver Society Notes have been categorized under the following headings:

Hard Energy Path: Oil, Gas, Pipelines, Coal, and Nuclear

Soft Energy Path: Renewable Energy Technologies

Renewable Resources: Agriculture and Forestry

Resource Recovery: Material and Process

Law, Environment, and the Conserver Society

Economics and the Conserver Society

Education and the Conserver Society

Occupational and Environmental Health

Women and the Conserver Society

Labour and the Conserver Society

Conservation

Upcoming Events

Regional Report

FOE News.

FOE first signed a contract with Environment Canada in July 1980, to re-establish the publication of Citizens' Bulletin, a bi-monthly

newsletter of environmental news. The research, writing, and editing was provided by FOE, while Environment Canada printed, translated, and distributed each issue. It was sent free-of-charge to environmental groups, government offices, and the environmentally concerned public. Readership of Citizens' Bulletin was estimated at 8,000 by its editor.

FOE experienced some difficulties producing Citizens' Bulletin. The need of Environment Canada to translate it into French was resulting in issues being distributed late. There were the frustrations associated with having to work within a very small budget. A much more fundamental issue concerned FOE's perception of censorship. One issue of Citizens' Bulletin failed to get distributed by Environment Canada. Apparently FOE was informed that people in Environment Canada did not like the contents of the issue. This experience caused FOE to reconsider the terms under which it agreed to produce Citizens' Bulletin. More significantly the experience raised questions about FOE's ability to do critical work when much of its survival and activities depended on government funding.

In June 1982, the last issue of Citizens' Bulletin was produced by FOE. A proposal to produce another three issues was submitted to Environment Canada but was rejected with budget cuts expressed as the reason for its rejection. The writer learned that the ENGO steering committee was approached by Environment Canada to produce Citizens' Bulletin but it declined the offer. It was aware of the small budget provided for Citizens' Bulletin production and it preferred to leave FOE the choice of publishing it (Fox, 1982).

Printed several times a year, with an attempt at being monthly, the FOE newsletter is part of FOE's efforts to provide a communication service from its Ottawa office. The newsletter reports current activities of FOE and its members, recent environmental news, directories of Ottawa bureaucrats and decision-makers, news releases, articles, clippings, information on recent reports and publications, and activities among ENGO's. The newsletter often identifies issues about which groups should write to the federal government to express their views. For example, The Freedom of Information Act, Bill C-43, was criticized and groups were encouraged to write opposing it. The names of contacts in Parliament, such as opposition critics and their portfolios, are also printed in the newsletter. The newsletter is seen by the membership to be a valuable communication tool.

In September 1979, FOE took over the management of Info Earth, a mail-order service for the production, sale, and distribution of Canadian and international environmental publications. FOE increased the number of titles carried from twenty to more than fifty, including several of its own publications. In January 1980, FOE took over ownership of Info Earth. Since then profits have been used to support other FOE programs. Total sales for Info Earth for the fifteen-month period ending March 31, 1981 were \$9,569 and profits were \$4,659. It is not a large operation but it is viewed as a valuable service by FOE.

Frequently FOE is invited to send speakers and representatives to conferences, meetings, and seminars and to serve on panels. Individuals connected with FOE have in the past identified such kinds of participation as an important part of FOE's communication and

advocacy roles. The following list provides the reader with some idea of the kinds of meetings where FOE has established or maintained visibility:

International:

1. Environmentalists for Full Employment
2. First International Conference of Uranium Mine Waste Disposal
3. FOE International Annual General Meeting
4. American Association for the Advancement of Science
5. Second International Conference on Soft Energy Paths
6. Canada-U.S. Environmental Council
7. Non-Governmental Organizations Forum on New and Renewable Sources of Energy.

National:

1. Canadian Association for Ben Gurion University
2. Environmental Non-Governmental Organizations
3. Social Science and Humanities Research Council
4. Environmental Challenges for the 80's
5. Offshore Environment in the 80's
6. Consultation '81 - Conference of the Coalition of National Voluntary Organizations.

Regional:

1. Citizens' Meeting on Uranium Explorations
2. Labour for Safe Energy and Jobs
3. Panel Discussion on Proposed Uranium Mining in Nova Scotia
4. Symposium of the Health Effects of Radiation.

In addition, in 1979 FOE co-sponsored The Action Seminar on Acid Participation.

Financial Affairs

From a financial perspective FOE is not a large operation. Its total expenditures for the 15 months ending March 31, 1981, were \$104,453 and revenues totalled \$105,995. These figures exclude Alternatives which is operated independently. The financial statement from which these figures were drawn reflects a 15-month period due to adjustments made to change the fiscal year end from December 31 to March 31. Because of this, consistent comparisons with previous years are not possible.

Expenses for the 12 months ending December 31, 1979 totalled \$18,248 and revenues totalled \$18,691. It is clear that 1980-1981 was a year in which FOE experienced considerable growth. This was largely attributable to contract income totalling \$64,222, from such work as the Soft Energy Path study. An audited or unaudited 1981-1982 financial statement was not available at the time of this research.

During FOE's fiscal year 1981-1982, it experienced some serious problems. It ran out of funds in the fall of 1981. At its annual general meeting in December 1981, the membership pledged over \$5,000 on the spot to keep FOE going and a serious review of FOE, including its fund-raising strategy, was undertaken. These financial problems were said to be connected to weaknesses in its staffing at the time as well as the point at which the group had reached in its development (Brooks, 1982).

There was a plan to have FOE tap into the mailing lists and support bases of its member organizations to appeal for support. However, member organizations expressed reluctance to comply for fear it would cut into their own support base. Since the fall of 1981 FOE has carried out a direct mail campaign. Individualized letters were sent to previous donors. This was completed with the assistance of a word processor.

Although FOE has not operated at a loss in the past there has been a great need for core funding. At the time of this research serious efforts were being made to obtain core funding. The smallest budget the executive director estimated FOE could operate on was \$56,000 for 1982-1983.

Organization, Staffing, and Administration

A 13-person Board is set up to provide direction for FOE. Each province and the territories select a representative for the Board of Directors. The executive is selected from the Board.

At the headquarters of FOE in Ottawa a small staff puts most of its efforts into communication with the membership, fund-raising, and political activity at the federal level. The subsidiary office, the Office of Nuclear Analysis, as its name suggests, deals only with nuclear issues. On a day-to-day basis the Ottawa office and the member groups operate independently of each other. The office can handle incidental requests from member groups but substantive requests cannot be handled. This is due to the lack of research staff and the design

of FOE being to serve the common interests of its members. It cannot devote its resources to the interests of any one member group at the expense of the common interest.

There were two full-time staff members with FOE at the time of this research - an executive director and an office manager. The executive director had been on the job officially for only two weeks. He was the third executive director in as many years. His background is in economics and he is a graduate of the University of Waterloo's environmental studies program. The office manager had worked with FOE as a volunteer for several years until becoming a paid staff member. Volunteer assistance has been necessary and invaluable to the running of the Ottawa office.

Prior to June 1982, the staffing consisted solely of an executive director. Although plans were made in December 1981 to hire a permanent commissioned fund-raiser this did not become feasible. A position of legislative consultant was created at the annual general meeting in 1979, but the position was never filled because of the lack of funds. The idea was that the legislative consultant would have enabled FOE to more effectively monitor and research the activities of the federal government. Adequate funding has never been available to run programs and staff the Ottawa office at the desired level (Vles, 1982). Consequently, adjustments have had to be to the level of FOE's activities.

Job descriptions for the staff did not exist. There was a personnel sub-committee of the Board which dealt with personnel issues. A staffing and employee performance appraisal policy existed,

but generally policies and procedures in the area of personnel management were not clearly formulated.

The documentation and reporting of activities of the Ottawa office appeared to be consistent with FOE's recognition of the need for research to back up lobbying. There was no shortage of documentation in the files to provide the writer with background information.

Leadership

It should be clear to the reader by this point that Dr. David Brooks was the driving force behind FOE for many years. Brooks admitted there was no doubt that in the early years he kept FOE going. During the last year Brooks has deliberately been withdrawing in order to pass responsibility over to other individuals in the organization. Nevertheless, he remains very influential in the organization. Most people interviewed acknowledged a dependency upon Brooks existed. At the time of this research, no one member organization or individual, except Brooks, was said to be any more influential than others.

In speaking with Board members, it was discovered that all the Board members have university degrees. Five had undertaken study at the graduate level, including Brooks with a doctorate in economics. Most specialized in the physical sciences as opposed to the social sciences.

Decision-Making and Power

FOE uses a variety of decision-making approaches. One thing is clear from these approaches and FOE's history - FOE is not a democratic organization. It was never intended to be such and apparently some groups rejected FOE because they wanted consensus decision-making at all times and FOE could not give them this (Brooks, 1982). The diversity of issues, individuals, organizations, and perspectives makes decision-making difficult.

The initial proposal establishing FOE indicated that power and creative initiative would be synergistically shared among the centre and the member groups. The word synergy means "the working together of unlike elements to create desirable results unobtainable from any combination of independent effort" (Craig and Craig, 1974, p. 62). The traditional form of power is manifested in a directive manner. Synergic power, in contrast, is "... the capacity of an individual or group to increase the satisfactions of all participants by intentionally generating increased energy and creativity, all of which is used to co-create a more rewarding present and future ..." (Craig and Craig, 1974, p. 62). For FOE, synergy meant that the Ottawa office and each of the member groups were equal participants in working toward their objectives.

Notwithstanding synergy, people came to conclude that FOE had difficulty making decisions and that some matters had to be decided by the Board and the executive director. This does not mean that participation in decision-making is non-existent. There appear to be

efforts to involve as many as possible, including staff, in providing input before decisions are made. For some issues, telephone calls are made to each group to get their viewpoint. After such surveys the executive director will establish FOE's general stand on specific issues. At the general meeting in June 1981, the members requested that a specific policy on decision-making be drafted which outlined roles and to eliminate the ambiguities they felt existed in the decision-making roles.

For the June 1981 Board and general meeting, FOE used the Delphi decision-making process to establish the agenda. The Delphi process is a decision-making process which can be utilized by people of an organization who cannot easily meet face-to-face. It is designed to assist the organization members reach a consensus on issues as opposed to a majority vote which would leave a significant portion feeling that their ideas and needs have been ignored. The process involved several cycles of mailings to member groups soliciting the viewpoints. The ideas from one mail cycle were sent out in the next mail cycle. A person organized the information received assembled each mailing and organized the responses. It was done in a way which made it clear everyone's input was being included. From this process a prioritized agenda was established from a number of groups having different priorities and perspectives. FOE's use of the Delphi method in this way is consistent the literature's description of the process and objectives for the method (Lindstone and Turoff, 1975).

Summary

Without interjecting much interpretation or analysis at this point the writer can summarize many key features of FOE Canada to which this profile draws attention. It is a coalition or network, not a closely knit organization with a common locale. It sees itself and its member groups as activist. They are activist in the sense that they involve themselves in lobbying to create political pressure for change. It prefers to view the shift to a Conserver Society as also including efforts to rationally influence policy change and the minds of centralist decision-makers with sound well-researched information. FOE's politics cannot be seen to be left in a Marxist sense. Its primary focus is centralist in terms of its change strategy. It emphasizes influencing decision-makers and governments. It does not concentrate much of its efforts to promote change by influencing the Canadian public by working through individuals who are associated with member organizations. This being the case the membership serves the function of supporting the Ottawa office and flows appear to disproportionately go from the membership to the centre. At the same time FOE can be seen to be decentralist by the issues it promotes such as the soft energy path.

The objective of a Conserver Society is broad, not clearly defined or understood by the membership. A Conserver Society is not part of FOE's formal objectives, although it is understood to be implicit. In a sense a Conserver Society as an objective represents a "motherhood" objective - one that generates attachment by virtue of its positively

perceived nature but it is not accompanied by any critical analysis. A Conserver Society as a social vision implies behavioural change. However, a Conserver Society is seen by FOE predominantly in technical terms in relation to the environment issues it addresses. This is also reflected in the composition of the membership which emphasizes environmental groups.

The struggle FOE is experiencing with its membership in terms of the role of the organization vis-a-vis its member groups and individuals represents a sensitive subject in the organization. It remains something that had to be resolved over time. There were no clear answers satisfactory to all. This is one issue indicating that FOE is developing and working out its role and identity.

Different processes of decision-making have been tried. This appears to be based upon a recognition of the inadequacy of traditional authoritarian, hierarchical and centralized practices. The notion of "synergy" and the Delphi method represent attempts to be more collaborative in decision-making. At the same time there are practical limitations connected with the need to be expedient in responding to government decisions or policy announcements.

FOE Canada is one group whose efforts represent a new vision of reality. It emphasizes that our health and livelihood, the quality of our environment and our social relationships, our economy, technology and politics are part of a multidimensional crises. It may not clearly articulate this recognition but it is implicit in the focus of its efforts of change, the use of the Conserver Society concept and the means by which it is attempting to do so. With one issue, though, the

soft energy path, FOE is able to draw attention to its alternative view - that the choice for the energy future is a choice about the kind of society and what kind of development Canadians want.

The next chapter will examine both the case of FOE Canada and the concept of a Conserver Society which it promotes in terms of their significance to the community development process and a shift in the dominant social paradigm.

CHAPTER V

Analysis, Interpretation, and Conclusions

This chapter looks at the case of FOE Canada as an example of a group whose efforts illustrate a shift in the dominant social paradigm described throughout the first three chapters. It begins with an analysis and interpretation of some of the key issues and observations surrounding the writer's observations of the group. The last part of the chapter presents the conclusions drawn from the study of the paradigm shift as it relates to the case study and community development.

The Case of FOE Canada: Analysis and Interpretation

When the writer first approached the staff and some of the people involved in FOE and explained the purpose of this research their response was, in many cases, a question of how FOE fits into the study of community development. Their response made the writer question whether people connected with FOE saw themselves in any way to be involved in a group process, and whether they appreciated that their promotion of a Conserver Society implied a concept of development alternative to the dominant or conventional industrial concept. These two questions will be addressed throughout the following sections analyzing and interpreting information contained in the previous profile around the themes of FOE's objectives, strategy, and

membership, and FOE as an alternative initiative which reveals aspects of the emerging paradigm.

FOE's Objectives

Most citizen movements in the United States, Europe, and Japan originally organized around the mounting social costs, the diseconomies, disservices or what have been referred to here as trade-offs (Henderson, 1976-1977). At first these groups are organized around simple, tangible social costs, such as air and water pollution; but increasingly they came to move beyond the fragmented views of their isolated problems to more holistic and systemic concerns. This would describe the origins of FOE Canada. FOE began when a number of issue-oriented groups coalesced around the view that a holistic approach was needed in addressing Canada's environmental problems. They adopted the notion of a Conserver Society as a way to provide meaning to their individual efforts as well as a collective goal.

The member organizations of FOE Canada also came together around their desire to take a common approach to environmental issues and promoting a Conserver Society. This was an "activist" approach. Activist was defined as being political and that meant lobbying decision-makers and the Canadian public for change.

The Conserver Society is expressed as FOE's informal objective. It has not, however, undertaken any systematic efforts to study the concept and how the group's actions might be explicitly linked to fulfilling its objective. One can only conclude that FOE expresses the

objective of a Conserver Society because it represents a motherhood issue. Such was expressed by two people interviewed. With many groups like FOE, though, not having clearly defined and measurable objectives results in ambiguity surrounding purpose and an inability to evaluate actions in relation to objectives.

The idea of a Conserver Society cannot be seen as merely a response to the physical aspects of the global problematique. In questioning the need to arrest wasteful consumption and the demand side of consumption, the Conserver Society concept identifies a host of characteristics underlying western culture. It is impossible, therefore, for a group like FOE to ask the questions it does without ultimately having to address the dominant system of values and beliefs in Canadian society. For example, one of FOE's goals, the soft energy path, ultimately involves a choice between the kind of values upon which society wishes to base its development (Lovins, 1977). Although FOE appears not to openly discuss this aspect of environmental issues, the group's efforts cannot help but imply a value system which competes with the value system of the advocates of the hard energy path - that of the industrial paradigm.

Strategy

Individuals and groups use different strategies to promote change. With groups like FOE their strategies depend on their nature and objectives. In terms of FOE's strategy, Olmosk's typology is useful in analyzing its approach (Olmosk, 1972). It is evident that the dominant

strategy employed by FOE is academic. The group is research-oriented in technical fields. It is very good at communicating information both within the group and out to the public and decision-makers. FOE's major efforts have been research projects and publications.

The academic strategy assumes people are rational; that if you present them with enough facts they will change. It includes a reliance upon experts who possess knowledge and facts. Its perceptual approach is analytical and detached with rationality prevailing. Those who are expected to change are those who receive and accept the new information. This approach is good with issue-oriented causes like toxic waste, and presenting relevant information about the issue. However, its chronic problems are an inability to implement findings, mobilize energy, getting people to pay attention or read reports, and it is time consuming. Olmosk identified that the academic approach suppresses feelings about results of findings and how the results should be used.

At the same time there are also elements of the political and confrontation approaches described by Olmosk (1972) in FOE's strategy. The former approach assumes that if all the really influential people agree to do something it will be done. It addresses itself to all those who possess decision-making powers. They are the focus of change. The political approach is good at mobilizing power and implementing decisions once they are made. It has the chronic problems of maintaining credibility and fighting backlash. It suppresses any questions regarding consistency of action with the value system one holds.

FOE could be more effective in promoting a Conserver Society if it directed its energies more toward its membership and people in communities. For example, the implication of a soft energy path relate to small-scale users - people in locality-based communities, examining their energy needs, understanding and controlling the technology and accessing renewable energy supplies. The soft energy path does not require government endorsement for its pursuit, although it would help. None of the behaviour changes accompanying the soft energy path can be legislated or incorporated into policy if people in the community are not inclined to support these practices. FOE could leave political activity to those they influence and can continue working in areas it has strength - research and dissemination of information through its network.

There is an even more important reason why FOE's attention to decision-makers and changing institutional policy is misdirected. It is a feature of the emerging paradigm that the ability of centralized institutions, including governments, to control and influence is disintegrating. FOE's emphasis on political activity is interpreted to mean lobbying politicians and decision-makers in disintegrating institutions. It does not view the power of working at the local level as political activity. Although it is apolitical in the way Marien (1977) described decentralists, FOE emphasizes maintaining good links with politicians and bureaucrats at the expense of attention to local level work.

One of the assumptions of the model of the community development process used in this thesis is that change is brought about by a

situational and participatory approach to the problem. This means that the problem is handled by those who are directly affected and they take action for themselves. FOE targets its activities toward others outside of their group. This orientation is seen by the writer and some of the membership, as illustrated by the membership debate, to be a significant weakness in the organization. In light of earlier references to FOE's cellular structure, its systemic linkages and member organizations' concerns about environmental problems that affect them directly, FOE would likely do better in promoting a Conserver Society if it used the power and commitment inherent in its membership as a force of change. It should be pointed out that FOE would like to work locally, particularly with reference to promoting a soft energy path, but it was admitted by two respondents that they were uncertain about how to work locally. Its membership could resolve that quickly because they are all locality-based.

Membership

Although the writer did not employ a methodology which focused much upon the individuals associated with FOE, several observations were made which relate to individuals. There was no evidence that people in FOE represented those who possess power or wealth in Canadian society. On the contrary many appear to live alternate lifestyles in which the centralist (either Marxist or capitalist) criteria of power hold no significance. At the same time there were several ways they did not conform to descriptions of decentralists, particularly that of (Marien,

1977). Many did have credentials and were quite prepared to debate with technocratic elites. In actual fact, it was FOE's intent to encourage and engage in such debate. Research was intended to support debate. There was an aversion, however, to government support and involvement as reflected by their desire to remain distinct from the ENGO network and avoid government funding and contract work with "strings attached."

In surveying development alternative initiatives, Starrs (1980, p. 131) concluded that not all environmentalists could be assumed to be part of those groups of Canadians exploring alternative concepts of development. This has particular implications for FOE. Its membership is officially limited to environmental groups. It is clear from a review of the literature that the Conserver Society concept is not purely an issue of concern to environmentalists. The issues of a Conserver Society include a variety of social considerations as well. Yet FOE limits its membership and attention to environmental issues. It might do well to broaden its membership base to include other groups whose objectives are consistent with the Conserver Society concept. It already has to some extent by involving groups like Le Monde a Bicyclette and the Canadian Coalition for Nuclear Responsibility.

FOE and a Paradigm Shift

FOE has some weaknesses which may affect its survival as a force supporting alternatives. It depends greatly upon Dr. Brooks. It does

not acknowledge its support base as a valuable target of the energies of its process. Other features which the writer observed were:

- a difficulty working locally;
- a tendency for the Ottawa office to operate with a centralist perspective;
- a tendency, probably coming from the academic background of individuals and FOE's need to relate to experts, to endorse the status of expert opinion; and
- a reliance upon the technological perspective in that a transition to a Conserver Society is seen largely as a technical and physical challenge, not a social or cultural transition.

These characteristics and weaknesses can be seen to be more congruent with the industrial paradigm.

In contrast, however, many of FOE's efforts also fit within the observations and evidence of a paradigm shift. From FOE's publications and the writer's observations several characteristics of FOE's concept of development can be implied:

- FOE is generally decentralist in perspective.
- FOE is conscious of the need to take on ecological perspectives.
- FOE has expressed a desire to reinforce the sense of community.
- FOE has a local and a global perspective.
- It emphasizes self-sufficiency.
- Technology is assessed ecologically.
- The human scale is emphasized.

- It is attempting to work out alternative decision-making procedures and power-sharing arrangements.
- It views government support and involvement as corrupting and undesirable.

FOE shares many of the characteristics Starrs (1980) described in her inventory and interpretation of alternative initiatives. It obviously has a concern for the life-supporting systems of this planet through its attention to environmental issues. The soft energy path, which FOE has studied and attempts to promote, supports diversity and self-reliance. Through the emphasis upon small energy inputs of the soft energy path there is an implication of a concern for decentralization, community responsibility, and the use of appropriate technologies. FOE's attention to toxic waste and nuclear energy issues relates to the themes of minimizing waste and a sustainable future. Implied in all of FOE's efforts is a global perspective and explicit in its affiliation with FOE International and its participation in international conferences and coalitions.

The ways which FOE's efforts are not consistent with some of the features of the emerging paradigm do not discredit it as an example of an alternative initiative. The inconsistencies are seen as points of difference in the clash of the two paradigms. For the most part FOE's intentions and strengths are rooted in its questioning of the traditional industrial concept of development. The structure of FOE, its alliance with the Conserver Society concept, and the issues it promotes, particularly the soft energy path, reflect the organization's underlying nature as an alternative to the industrial paradigm.

A particularly relevant aspect of the paradigm shift to the community development process is its emphasis upon groups of citizens who must learn for themselves and teach others about the change taking place. Robertson's book The Sane Alternative (1978) was based upon the objective of providing groups with practical assistance to facilitate a paradigm shift. Harman (1979), Starrs (1980) and Capra (1982) all emphasize the central role community groups are playing and will continue to play in the transformation to post-industrial society. It is this emphasis upon groups and learning that is also central to the community development process.

The idea of a paradigm shift suggests that in the process of problem-solving a community can construct its own view of reality. The ability to do so introduces an element of active involvement in the development process. In other words, development does not have to be a passive process as the traditional notion of development has held. Essentially, the idea of shaping the nature of development is behind all the activity in development alternatives. There is a recognition that society can be intentionally moulded to whatever desirable future each group holds.

Can FOE be described as a community? This research indicates that FOE's strategy negates the formation of any sense of community for the membership. The ambiguity of purpose and objectives, and uncertainty about how to work locally, are some characteristics preventing the creation and maintenance of a community. The network of FOE is supported by the ability of its membership to communicate over a wide area. It has the potential to create an open kind of community, not

bound to locality, but based upon shared objectives. In addition, clear objectives would allow FOE to evaluate its progress. At this time, its effectiveness remains immeasurable. In short, if FOE saw itself to be involved in the community development process described by Roberts (1979) and this thesis, it could be more effective in facilitating the kind of paradigm shift necessary for a sustainable future.

The notion of a shift in paradigms has much to offer the study and practice of community development for it introduces some questions into the traditional practice of community development. Can community development continue to be aligned with the process of industrialization or can it be accommodated within a changed cultural milieu as the evidence of a shift in paradigms suggests is taking place? This thesis suggests that the community development process is actually better suited as a problem-solving process in a post-industrial society based upon the new paradigm described here.

The Conserver Society Concept in 1983

The Science Council of Canada's reports drew considerable attention to the Conserver Society concept. Since its introduction and up until about 1979 there was much dialogue and exploration of the concept addressing its implications and implementation. Most of the literature dealing with the concept falls within the five-year period of 1976 to 1981. Some articles continue to appear in Alternatives, the journal of FOE Canada, whose mandate it is to promote a Conserver Society.

However, the writer observed that the winter 1983 issue of Alternatives contained no mention of the concept.

The Science Council is no longer involved in the promotion of a Conserver Society. The only remaining official promoter of the concept, as such, is FOE. However, the many concerns of a Conserver Society are alive through the diverse efforts of community groups, governments, and private industry. They are carrying on the Conserver Society thinking without the rubric of a "Conserver Society" through aspects of its implementation.

Starrs (1980, p. 21) noted that the Conserver Society concept was introduced in a very broad context but has begun to move from the idea stage to being implemented. She also pointed out that some people believed the concept had served its purpose and that other concepts, within which a Conserver Society is an essential component, have emerged and become more attractive.

The Conserver Society concept linked up many groups who up until that time had had very little contact or interest in the work of the other. This meant environmentalists, naturalists, resource economists, religious communities (particularly in Quebec), community colleges, those involved in international development, and many more, were placed in the position of exchanging views and bringing together the resources and strengths of their disciplines, institutions, agencies, and communities. Artificial barriers could start to be broken down and a more integrated view of the issues and development process could be taken. The Conserver Society concept can thus be seen to have encouraged systemic linkages in the process of social change.

Until the publication of the Science Council's report Number 27, Canada as a Conserver Society, efforts within the alternatives movement were generally considered to be those of a fringe minority seeking comfort through a reversion to an agrarian and romantic view of society. The Conserver Society concept and the discussions it generated provided some credence as well as some meaning to the alternatives movement. In addition, the many conferences and workshops staged around conserver issues called upon the skills and experience of those who had been in the vanguard of experimenting with voluntary simplicity, soft technology, alternative living arrangements, and self-sufficiency (Henion and Kinnear, 1979; NSI, 1978; SCC, 1978; 1982).

In a recent report entitled the Conserver Society Revisited, Ted Schrecker (1982) studied the extent to which Canada has moved in the direction of a Conserver Society and the potential and implications for further change. This report was the summary of a much larger study undertaken to assess the relevance of the concept five years after the release of Report 27. Schrecker found a marked decline in energy consumption and corresponding demand forecasts. The contribution of renewable energy to Canada's projected energy supply had increased. At the same time he found institutional barriers remained the greatest barriers preventing greater use and development of renewables and other behavior consistent with a Conserver Society.

The Science Council of Canada sponsored a seminar in February of 1982 to examine the Conserver Society concept five years after its publication of Canada as a Conserver Society. In reviewing the definition of a Conserver Society, Ray Jackson concluded that it is

probably better to view the Conserver Society as one of a variety of names, including Humanonies, New Age Politics, and the Aquarian Conspiracy," which point to a new world-view, a new paradigm (SCC, 1982).

Conclusions

The contradictions between observed realities and traditional beliefs and values are becoming too large to deny. Such contradictions are, for example, the quest for high GNP's and continuing economic problems; the introduction of labour-saving technologies into the workplace and an inability to provide members of society with meaningful work; between the need for increasing cooperation and tolerance among people and the massive destructive power at our disposal; and between the realization that we are dependent upon a fragile ecosystem and the continual abuse of it.

In determining the kinds of adjustments to change which are necessary, people will need to understand the values and beliefs - the dominant paradigm of Canadian culture - which guide perception of reality. This thesis has described how the community development process affords people the opportunity to understand and learn about the reigning paradigm and its consequences for the way it directs people's behaviour. Experiencing the community development process in this way creates an actively learning culture in which deeply held beliefs and norms can be reassessed. This active learning element of

the process resembles the innovative learning described as necessary by Botkin, Elmandjra, and Malitza (1979) for a sustainable future.

This thesis maintains there is a role for the community development process in helping explain the transition to a post-industrial society. It may not involve an expert role for a community developer nor will it likely include such a dominant role in planning and funding the State. Its strength would be in its capacity as a self-directed problem-solving and learning process for autonomous individuals and groups. If sharing and cooperation, organic forms and collaborative relations, and interdependence predominate as cultural values these features of the new society are congruent with the philosophy of community development.

One conclusion that emerges from studying paradigms and development efforts based on different paradigms is that the future can be actively shaped through activities in the present. Reality is described by the paradigm with which one chooses to operate. If one changes the paradigm, as the community development process does, then one changes perceptions of the present reality and desires for the future through a redefined concept of development. It can then be inferred that active changes to the paradigm amount to actively designing the future.

There appear to be two extreme ways that industrial societies can respond to the world-problematic and a variety of combinations of responses between these two ways. One can be a lack of response which would be characteristic of industrial problem-solving. The free market can optimally allocate resources in the most efficient manner. This response of inaction would likely lead to severe consequences for

people victimized by contradictions of the industrial paradigm and a damaged environment.

The other view is that society can respond by developing anticipatory institutions and institutional changes. This response is based upon the assumption that institutions such as governments, educational institutions, or transnational companies will retain their abilities to plan, measure, and control as they have in the past. Such will unlikely be the case. The disintegration being experienced by all large institutions in the course of the continued erosion of the industrial paradigm will relieve them of the pervasive influence they have had on social life. Instead, more diverse and organic responses emerging from groups of people who join together locally or through a collection of cells over vast spaces responding to problems affecting them will likely be witnessed.

Ten years ago Colin Ward (1973) warned of the dangers of growing centralization. He saw people of the industrialized countries having material wealth but lacking control over their destinies and living environment. Murray Bookchin (1974) argued the same thing. They both viewed anarchy as a viable social order which could counteract the force of centralization. Anarchy to them is not a disruptive, chaos-producing political philosophy but an alternative social organization principle or model. As a solution to the dehumanizing and threatening trend toward centralization, they suggested the encouragement of new small-scale social and political units (communities) that could gradually draw off power from the centralized forces by increasing the pool of competitors for decision-making. They

also encouraged the development of sentiments that facilitate local autonomy and self-reliance. This view of anarchy resembles what is described as happening with development alternatives. The connection between the shift in the dominant social paradigm and the emergence of anarchy as a new social order offers new dimensions to the study of alternatives and the Conserver Society.

It is clearly not in the interest of industrial institutions to facilitate the work of groups whose efforts are based upon the new paradigm. These institutions include big government, big business, big unions, the health care delivery system, academic institutions and others. It is not in the interests of these institutions to liberate people as the emerging paradigm would require. Capra (1982) described how these institutions, particularly the health care system, are in a process of disintegration. Many of the features of the emerging paradigm attack the very reason for the existence of these institutions. Some institutions may undergo transformation from within because many people who are part of these institutions are well aware of their limitations. In small ways these people try to influence their institutions to change with the new ways but are often confronted by the inertia characteristic of paradigms. The structures themselves are often obsolete and these cannot be altered without some radical effort.

Capra (1982, p. 29) described the relationship between old institutions and alternative efforts in this way:

... during the painful process of disintegration the society's creativity - its ability to respond to challenges - is not completely lost. Although the cultural mainstream has become petrified by clinging to fixed ideas and rigid patterns of behaviour, creative minorities will appear on the scene and carry on the process of challenge-and-response. The dominant social institutions will refuse to hand over their leading roles to these new cultural forces, but they will inevitably go on to decline and disintegrate, and the creative minorities may be able to transform some of the old elements into a new configuration.

The writer suspects there will continue to be attempts to promote the industrial paradigm's concept of development. Attempts will come from centralists and those who have a vested interest in maintaining power and control. Interests of big business and big government are included among those. Indications are that they may resort to authoritarian means in an attempt to preserve their interests. All will claim to speak for what is good and just. They will have at their disposal all the technology that their wealth can purchase.

The alternatives have infiltrated the social structure far too deeply for centralists to be successful. The very goals to which they aspire have the result of creating more evidence that their paradigm is inadequate. There are signs that the area around which this will take place first is work and wealth distribution.

Development alternatives, including initiatives based on the Conserver Society concept, represent a different approach to development. As was discussed in Chapter II the traditional approach to development has been from top-down or centre-outward which is characteristic of the industrial paradigm. Development alternatives,

in contrast, signal a bottom-up or periphery-inward approach to development. Because this bottom-up, self-reliant development process is necessarily based upon the values and beliefs of its advocates, that is their paradigm, it is likely to produce greater diversity of cultural paradigms in post-industrial society.

Whether or not governments choose, development alternatives will emerge as a response of any community which goes through a process of learning about and questioning the dominant social paradigm in problem-solving. This research suggests there is evidence of considerable erosion of the mass attachment to the industrial paradigm as the dominant social paradigm. There are many examples of groups whose efforts at problem-solving have led them to question the dominant paradigm. Many of these were identified by Starrs' inventory (1980), Reddin and Clarke's study of alternatives in Ontario (1978) and Jackson's review of applications of appropriate technology (1980a). What remains unclear at this point is whether the industrial paradigm will be replaced by another dominant paradigm or whether we are witnessing the emergence of a diversity of paradigms.

There are essentially two conclusions which this study can make in relation to its initial purpose. One conclusion relates to the placement of the Conserver Society concept in understanding the move to a post-industrial society. The Conserver Society concept reflects, in part, the point that post-industrial society will be characterized by new sets of values and beliefs forming a new world-view - a new paradigm. The study of the Conserver Society concept introduced some of the characteristics of the new paradigm.

The second conclusion of this thesis relates to the role and compatibility of the community development process within post-industrial society. It has been shown that historically community development has been based upon a concept of development defined by the industrial paradigm. There were inherent conflicts between the nature of the community development process and the outcomes of industrialization. The community development process, as described by Roberts (1978) and this thesis, appears to be more compatible with the emerging paradigm. That being the case it will remain useful in a post-industrial society as a problem-solving process for communities.

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APPENDIX I

SOME CANADIAN DEFINITIONS OF
COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

- A. The community development process encompasses two perspectives: development seen as both a learning and a political process. It assumes that people have the capacity to perceive and judge the condition of their lives, and to adopt behaviours to improve that condition. It assumes that in the course of that learning they can look critically at the reigning paradigms of the society in which they live. It is a political process because it seeks collective goals through the marshalling of the energies and resources of the community (Roberts, 1979, p. 167).
- B. Community development in Canada has still to define its area for action, as well as the issues it should tackle. It can not simply be concerned with development-as-increase in resources or productivity (as it primarily is in emerging countries) but also and foremost with two closely linked problem areas: the allocation of assets within our society and the allocation of power (Bregha, 1979, pp. 1-3).
- C. Community development is an educational-motivation process designed to create conditions favourable to economic and social change, if possible on the initiative of the community, but if this initiative is not forthcoming spontaneously, then techniques for arousing and stimulating it in order to secure the fullest participation of the community must be utilized (Special Planning Secretariat, 1965, p. 2).
- D. Community development is the process of facilitation in solving problems as identified by the community itself (Stinson, 1971, p. 262).
- E. Community development focuses on the process of enabling people collectively to achieve goals and to influence actions together. It forces individuals and communities to confront, collectively, their common values, assumptions, and attitudes (Lotz, 1977, pp. 7-16).

APPENDIX II

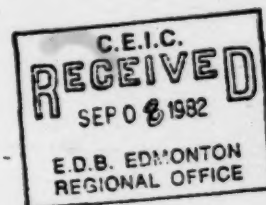
FOE LETTERS PATENT



Consumer and
Corporate Affairs Canada
Canada
Corporations Act

Consommation
et Corporations Canada
Canada
Loi sur les corporations

Mike M.



217

C A N A D A

LETTERS PATENT

WHEREAS an application has been filed to incorporate a corporation under the name

FRIENDS OF THE EARTH
LES AMIS DE LA TERRE

THEREFORE the Minister of Consumer and Corporate Affairs, by virtue of the powers vested in him by the Canada Corporations Act, constitutes the applicants and such persons as may hereafter become members in the corporation hereby created, a body corporate and politic in accordance with the provisions of the said Act. A copy of the said application is attached hereto and forms part hereof.

Date of Letters Patent - September 25, 1978.

GIVEN under the seal of office of the Minister of Consumer and Corporate Affairs.



[Signature]
for the Minister of Consumer
and Corporate Affairs.

RECORDED 23rd November, 1978

Film 435 Document 61

L. McLean

Deputy Registrar General of Canada

THE MINISTER OF CONSUMER AND CORPORATE AFFAIRS OF CANADA.

I

The undersigned hereby apply to the Minister of Consumer and Corporate Affairs for the grant of a charter by letters patent under the provisions of Part II of the Canada Corporations Act constituting the undersigned, and such others as may become members of the Corporation thereby created, a body corporate and politic under the name of

FRIENDS OF THE EARTH

LES AMIS DE LA TERRE.

LES AMIS DE LA TERRE.

The undersigned have satisfied themselves and are assured that the proposed name under which incorporation is sought is not the same or similar to the name to which any other company, society, association or firm in existence is carrying on business in Canada or is incorporated under the laws of Canada or any province thereof or so nearly resembles the same as to be calculated to deceive and that it is not a name which is otherwise on public grounds objectionable

II

The applicants are individuals of the full age of twenty-one years with power under law to contract. The name, the place of residence and the calling of each of the applicants are as follows:

DAVID B. BROOKS	Apt. 1, 226 Gladstone Avenue, Ottawa, Ontario. K2P 0Y6	Economist
FRANCOIS J. BREGHA	173 Greenfield Avenue, Ottawa, Ontario. K1S 0X8	Energy Analyst
DOUGLAS G. MILLER	164 Aylmer Avenue, Ottawa, Ontario. K1S 2Y4	Consultant

The said David B. Brooks, François J. Bregha, and Douglas G. Miller, will be the first directors of the Corporation.

III

The objects of the Corporation are:

- (a) to encourage, promote, and support environmental conservation in Canada;
- (b) to federate organizations whose objects include the promotion of environmental conservation anywhere in Canada;

(c) to co-ordinate and support the environmental conservation efforts of any such organizations within Canada as may become members of the Corporation, provided that the Corporation shall not participate in or devote any of its resources to

- (i) the encouragement, support, promotion or defense of any interests of any of its members other than their common interest in environmental conservation in Canada;
 - (ii) the electoral campaign of any candidate for any elected office at any level of government in Canada;
 - (iii) any publicity campaign in the press, on radio, or on television except for the purpose of publicizing programmes or communications of a non-partisan educational nature, or
 - (iv) any representation to any elected representative at any level of government in Canada, except in response to specific requests for such representations or, in the case of non-partisan communications, for the exclusive purpose of promoting environmental conservation in Canada.
- (d) to provide informational services to its member groups by means of a periodical newsletter;
- (e) to educate the Canadian public by means of a periodical newsmagazine about the need for environmental conservation; and
- (f) to represent Canadian environmentalists at international meetings of environmentalists.

IV

The operations of the Corporation may be carried on throughout Canada and elsewhere.

V

The place within Canada where the head office of the Corporation is to be situated is the Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton, in the Province of Ontario.

VI

It is specially provided that in the event of dissolution or winding-up of the Corporation all its remaining assets after payment of all its liabilities shall be distributed to one or more recognized charitable organizations in Canada.

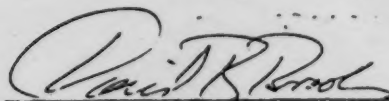
VII

The by-laws of the Corporation shall be those filed with the application for letters patent until repealed and replaced, amended, altered or added to.

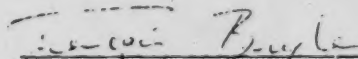
VIII

The Corporation is to carry on its operations without pecuniary gain to its members and any profits or other accretions to the Corporation are to be used in promoting its objects.

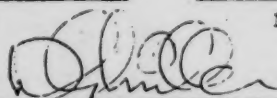
DATED at the City of Ottawa, in the Province of Ontario
this 22ND day of SEPT., 1978.



DAVID B. BROOKS



FRANCOIS J. BREGHA



DOUGLAS G. MILLER

APPENDIX III

MEMBER ORGANIZATIONS OF
FRIENDS OF THE EARTH CANADA

- Alberta:** Alberta Wilderness Association (Calgary)
Environmental Resource Centre (Edmonton)
Sierra Club of Western Canada (Calgary)
- British Columbia:** Canadian Scientific Pollution and Environmental Control Society (SPEC: Vancouver)
Sierra Club of Western Canada (Vancouver and Victoria)
South Okanagan Environmental Coalition (Penticton)
West Coast Environmental Law Association
- Manitoba:** Crossroads Resource Group (Winnipeg)
Sierra Club of Western Canada (Winnipeg)
- New Brunswick:** Community Planning Association of Canada, New Brunswick Division (Saint John)
Conservation Council of New Brunswick (Fredericton)
Maritime Energy Coalition (Fredericton)
- Nova Scotia:** Ecology Action Centre (Halifax)
- Ontario:** Canadian Environmental Law Association (Toronto)
Energy Probe (Ottawa and Toronto)
Is Five Foundation (Toronto)
Ontario Public Interest Research Group (OPIRG: Guelph, Hamilton, Ottawa, Peterborough, Toronto, Waterloo, and Windsor)
People Against Nuclear Development Anywhere (PANDA: Brockville)
Pollution Probe Ottawa (Ottawa)
Recycling Council of Ontario (Toronto)
Temiskaming Environmental Action Committee
- Prince Edward Island:** Institute of Man and Resources (Associate Member: Charlottetown)
- Quebec:** Le Monde a Bicyclette (Montreal)
Les Amis de la Terre de Quebec (Quebec)
Society to Overcome Pollution (STOP: Montreal)
- Saskatchewan:** Saskatoon Environmental Society (Saskatoon)
- Yukon:** Yukon Conservation Society (Whitehorse)
- National:** Canadian Coalition for Nuclear Responsibility (Montreal)
Canadian Society of Environmental Biologists
National Survival Institute (Toronto)